THE STORY OF PROTESTANTISM

F. HOLDERNESS GALE

W. E. Gladstone

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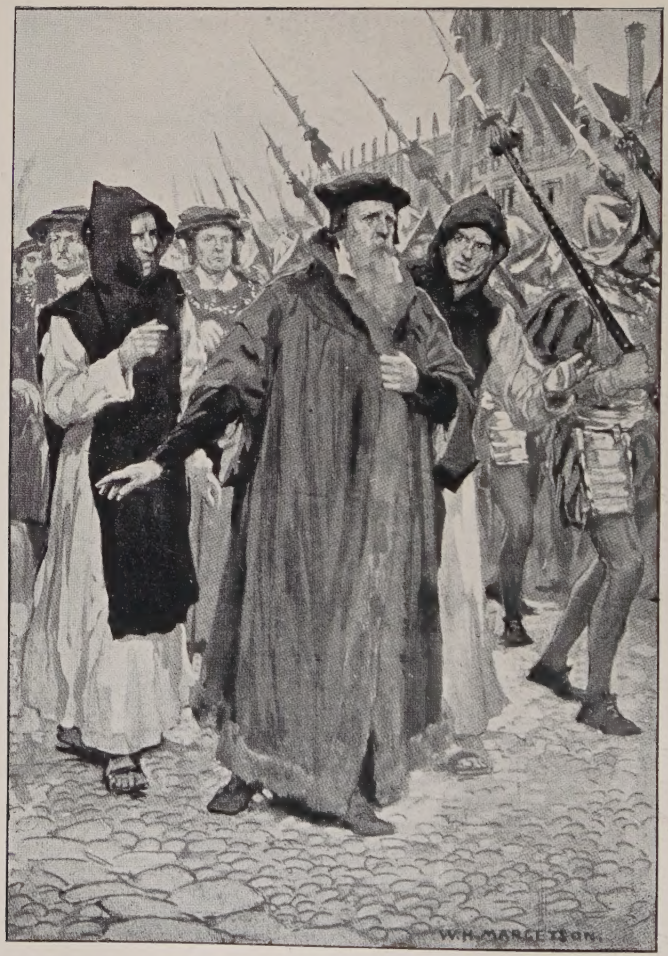

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER ON HIS WAY TO THE STAKE (*p.* 267).

THE STORY OF PROTESTANTISM

BY

F. HOLDERNESS GALE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR OF "THE QUIVER"

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PREFACE.

I HAVE to acknowledge my indebtedness in the preparation of this Story of Protestantism to the monumental and exhaustive "History of Protestantism" prepared for the same publishers by the late Dr. J. A. Wylie. Many phases of the Reformation which have been presented with necessary brevity in this comparatively small book will be found more fully dealt with in his three larger volumes. Dr. Wylie's knowledge of the subject was truly encyclopædic; but in the thirty years which have elapsed since his death historical research has brought to light many new facts, and such of these as seem to be relevant I have endeavoured to incorporate in my Story.

My sincere thanks are due to Mr. Arthur D. Innes, author of "England Under the Tudors," for constant advice and guidance in the preparation of this little book, and to Mr. J. F. McRae and Mr. W. Guy Johnson for valuable help in its passage through the press. And I must also own a special debt of gratitude to Professeur Louis J. Thévenaz, of Calvin's College, Geneva, who has kindly read the proofs of those chapters which deal with the Swiss Reformation.

F. HOLDERNESS GALE.

INTRODUCTION.

It is with much pleasure that I write a few words of commendation on " The Story of Protestantism " which is related in the following pages with such accuracy and skill by my friend Mr. F. Holderness Gale.

That such a volume is needed at the present day is obvious when one realises the lessened zeal for Protestantism which is a feature of our national life. I venture to say that this lack of fervency on behalf of the faith for which our forefathers suffered torture and death is not due so much to a growth of tolerance as to a growth of ignorance. There is a greater need to turn the pages of history in order that one's memory may be refreshed, and one's faith inspired, by the recollection of the noble battles for religious freedom which were waged in past centuries. Cardinal Newman, in one of those picturesque passages which fascinate while they do not convince, taunted the Protestant Church of England with being a Church with an empty niche. If Protestants do not adorn their churches with stone images, it is not because they do not reverence Christ, but, rather, because they have learned the danger of translating into stone the worship which must be " in spirit and in truth."

Humanity has been tempted in every age to materialise the spiritual, and one of the most dangerous effects of the Oxford Movement has been to elevate such matters as vestures, positions, and colours into a prominence which leads to the obscuring of the essentials of the soul's worship.

The story of Protestantism is like a river which takes its colour from the varying soils over which it glides onwards to the sea. Through each century and each generation Protestantism has been confronted with different foes, though the fight has varied little in severity. Its protagonists have been men of very different calibre—sometimes strenuous, dauntless Luthers; at other times patient saints and suffering women. But throughout the ages the faith of Protestantism has been sufficient to evoke heroism, and to enlist minds of remarkable intellect and power on its behalf. Though, strictly speaking, all warfare consists of "soldiers' battles," in the sense that the rank and file have to bear the burden and heat of the day, yet there must always be the genius of generalship if victory is to crown the fight. Protestantism has had distinguished generals in the past, men who have known which were the strategic positions to attack or defend, and have inspired in their armies an enthusiasm sufficient to carry by assault some of the most difficult strongholds.

To-day we find ourselves in a back-wave, as regards the affirmation of Protestant tenets. A change has passed over the ecclesiastical position

in the last few years, with the result that the Protestant party in this country has to confess that its leaders are less numerous than was the case thirty years ago. I believe that a reaction from ritualism is likely to take place, and with it will come a revival of that passionate belief in Protestantism which had so much to do with the production of sturdy character and widespread evangelical effort. It must not be forgotten also that many of the greatest philanthropies in the United Kingdom had their birth in Protestant cradles, and that some of the earliest efforts on behalf of foreign missions abroad, as well as in the direction of caring for the helpless and weak at home, were commenced under strongly Protestant auspices. Historians like Mr. Lecky have borne their testimony to the virility associated with Protestantism, the independence of soul which is a natural product of unrestrained freedom of worship. In Europe to-day we have presented to our attention the revolt of at least three important nations against priestly dominance. What the end will be in France, for example—whether Protestantism will supplant the Catholic clericalism which has exerted so powerful an effect on the Republic, remains to be seen. In Austria-Hungary the "Los von Rom" movement has already detached tens of thousands of subjects of the Emperor-King from their old allegiance to the Church of Rome. The work which Protestantism has to do in both countries is very different from that which it has undertaken in the United

Kingdom, but Protestantism is fortunately cosmopolitan, and its elasticity permits its adaptation to the needs of all countries.

I commend this volume to the studious attention especially of young people, who have grown up in the liberty they hardly value because they know not at what cost it was achieved. "With a great price obtained I this freedom" may be truly said by a Protestant, and the thrilling narrative of how the purchase of this freedom was made ought to inspire readers of this volume with a determination to uphold the faith of their fathers.

THE EDITOR OF "THE QUIVER."

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THE STORY OF PROTESTANTISM.

CHAPTER I.

THE GROWTH OF THE PAPAL CLAIMS.

Protestantism the History of the Christian Era—The Diocletian Persecution—Toleration—Growth of a Hierarchy—The Bishop of Rome and his Claims—Pope Gregory and the War of the Investiture—The Topstone put to Papal Pretensions by Boniface VIII.—Avignon the Seat of the Papal Court.

"We are resolved, with the Grace of God, to maintain the pure and exclusive preaching of His Holy Word, such as it is contained in the Biblical books of the Old and New Testament, without adding anything thereto that may be contrary to it. . . . If you do not yield to our request, we protest by these presents, before God, our only Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Saviour, and Who will one day be our Judge, as well as before all men and all creatures, that we, for us and for our people, neither consent nor adhere in any manner to the proposed decree, in anything that is contrary to God, to His Holy Word, to our right conscience, to the salvation of our souls, and to the last decree of Spires."

These noble words are taken from the Great Protest read by the Elector of Saxony on behalf of the German princes of the Reformed Faith

at the Diet of Spires on April 19, 1529. From that day the Reformers have been called Protestants, and their faith has been known as Protestantism. But the principle underlying the Protest, and inspiring the Reformers, had its birth long centuries before the Diet of Spires, and was confined to no country, race, or clime. "The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch," but it was not then, nor in Antioch, that Christianity came into being. And we who proudly profess and call ourselves Protestants claim that the purified faith which we know under the name of Protestantism was no new creed arising out of the political exigencies of German princes in the sixteenth century. It was no mere product of the brain of Luther or Calvin, Cranmer or Knox, or any earthly teacher. It was a rekindling of the Faith once delivered to the Saints, proclaimed by the Redeemer Himself, taught by His Holy Spirit, practised and preached by the Apostles, and embodied in the inspired Word of God.

Too long have we thought of Protestantism as dating only from the time of Luther; and it is one purpose of this book to show, as did Dr. Wylie in the fuller work on which it is in the main based, that the story of Protestantism is not merely an account of the last four centuries of growing light, but is in a very real sense the history of the entire Christian era; for the essential principle of Christianity is enshrined in that which is at the heart of Protestantism—reliance on the inspired

Word of God as the one and only rule of faith and guide of conscience. But before we can tell the story of the Great Protest, we must briefly sketch the growth of the great system of error against which it was raised.

The persecutions which fell upon the early Church at the hands of the Roman emperors served, as overruled by Divine Providence, a double purpose. They quickened and strengthened the faith of the disciples; and by the dispersion of the steadfast few who escaped the persecutors the new Faith was carried to the uttermost bounds of the Empire. And wherever Christianity was borne, the Christian Scriptures went with it, and their importance was quickly recognised by the pagan enemies of the Faith. In that terrible persecution of the Christians which has rendered the name of Diocletian for ever infamous, the destruction of copies of the Scriptures was specially enjoined on the officers of the law, but in vain. What persecution did for the believers proscription did for the Bible, and, under God, we largely owe the possession of the Sacred Writings to the anxious care with which copies were preserved and multiplied in that time of trial. The zeal of the persecutors for the destruction of the books enhanced their value in the eyes of the Church. The copies were in constant danger of seizure and destruction; their contents were not only reproduced again and again in order that some at least might escape capture, but were sedulously committed to memory

by the hunted saints. "Where are your Scriptures?" it was asked of one of the martyrs under Diocletian. "In my heart," was the steadfast reply.

Toleration succeeded persecution, and gave place in its turn to patronage of Christianity by the Empire, to the temporal gain but the spiritual loss of the Church, until, by the end of the fourth century of the Christian era, the seeds had been sown of that mass of corruption and error which provoked the Great Protest of the sixteenth century. Step by step the simple order of the Apostolic Church was remodelled on the lines of the civil government of the Roman Empire. Four prefects, or viceroys, ruled under Constantine the Empire beyond the reach of the metropolis, each being responsible for a province (*diœcesis*); and a similar arrangement was introduced into the Church. Where there had been a brotherhood there was now a hierarchy, and we see the beginning of the Papacy in the five patriarchs set over the dioceses into which the Empire was parcelled. One of these patriarchates was filled by the Bishop of Rome, and the chief pastor of the Church in the imperial city came gradually to take among the clergy something of that pre-eminence which Rome held among cities.

So long as Rome remained the seat of empire, her bishop was overshadowed by the Emperor; but Constantine built a new capital on the banks of the Bosphorus, and transferred the imperial court to Constantinople. He could rob the old

Mistress of the World of the pomp of the purple, but he was unable to take from her the prestige which ages of dominion had given. The withdrawal of the Emperor left the Bishop of Rome the greatest figure in the old capital; and though for a time Antioch and Alexandria, and Jerusalem and Constantinople contested with her the primacy, the historical position of the City of the Seven Hills enabled Rome to give to her patriarch the pre-eminence, long before it was formally decreed in an imperial edict, at the beginning of the seventh century.

The claim of Rome to supremacy was not admitted without protest on the part of the other patriarchates and bishoprics; and in the middle of the fifth century Leo "the Great," who then occupied the see of Rome, first based the pretension, not upon the decree of emperor or voice of council, but upon the words of Christ, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church." The claim was repudiated by the Council of Ephesus in 449, and again, two years later, at another Council held at Chalcedon. Even in the West, and in districts within easy reach of the old capital of the world, the metropolitans of Aquileia, Ravenna, and Milan steadily asserted their independence of Rome. The controversy continued until Phocas usurped the imperial throne and Boniface III. was bishop in Rome; and it is not without significance that the imperial recognition of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the holders of other bishoprics should have been given by a usurper.

But from the dawn of the seventh century to this day the Bishop of Rome has borne the title of Papa, or Pope, while the title of Patriarch has been generally restricted to the Bishop of Constantinople.

Some have claimed for those who took exception to the supremacy of the see of Rome, the right to be regarded as heralds of the Great Protest of the sixteenth century, but this claim can only very partially be maintained. True, they protested against one error, and pointed to one abuse which, had it been checked at the outset, might have saved Christendom from centuries of thraldom. But the essence of the Protest made by the Reformers lay not in its attack on the hierarchy and its acts, or on the ecclesiastical system of Rome, so much as in the denial of the dogmas upon which the hierarchy and the system had been built up—dogmas which, as the Reformers proved, had no basis in Scripture. The earlier antagonists of Rome saw light, indeed, but it was not the clear and glorious light that illumined the world in the fulness of time.

The Western Empire was dying when the supremacy of the Popes over other bishops was established, but, tribe after tribe, the peoples of Western Europe came under the influence of the Gospel. Kingdoms fell and princedoms were swept away, but bishop succeeded bishop in the proud City of the Seven Hills; and while secular rulers went down one after the other, pope succeeded pope in Rome, and to the prestige of the city's antiquity was added the new lustre of the respect

paid to a settled order amid the wreck of so many sovereignties and nations. Goth and Visigoth, Burgundian and Teuton and Frank, Anglo-Saxon and Northman, alike adopted Christianity, and their Churches came more or less under the sway of the Bishop of Rome. Disputes among their bishops were referred to the arbitrament of the Pope, and this practice led to the selection of the Bishop of Rome for the settlement of differences between secular princes as well.

When Clovis, King of the Franks, was baptised in the cathedral of Rheims, after the battle of Tolbiac, and three thousand of his warlike subjects participated in the rite, the Pope styled him "the eldest son of the Church," and the title was borne for centuries by subsequent kings of France. It was one of the successors of Clovis—Pepin—who may be said to have laid the foundation of the Pope's temporal power. Having driven back the Lombards who had threatened Rome, he placed the keys of their cities on the altar of St. Peter's, and ceded to the Pope the territories of the conquered tribes.

Not only was the power of the Pope growing, and the independence of the Bishop of Rome becoming clearer, but internal changes in the order of the Church were also working in favour of the papal claims. At first the bishops, in Rome as in other dioceses, were elected by the people. Then they came to be elected by the clergy, with the consent of the people, and side by side with this change came another; the teaching ministry of

apostolic days gave place to a sacrificing priesthood. Then, for the election of the Pope, the Emperor took the place of the people. The cardinals acted for the clergy, and presented their choice for the confirmation of the Emperor. Last of all, the cardinals claimed the power of election as their own.

What one emperor had granted to the Popes another might take away. The ecclesiastical authorities of Rome were astute enough to see this, and they accordingly supplemented the edict of Phocas, and a still earlier one of Valentinian, by a special claim for pre-eminence for the Pope as the successor of the Apostle Peter and the Vicar of God upon earth. Gregory VII.—the noted Hildebrand, who succeeded in 1073—was the first Pope to realise to the full what the papal claims implied, and to preach that "the Pope's name is the chief in the world," that "it is lawful for him to depose emperors," that "his decision is to be withstood by none, but he alone may annul those of all men." Such was the gage which Pope Gregory flung down to the kings and nations of the world in the War of the Investiture, as it was called, which was waged to assert the rights of the Pope to appoint bishops and clergy without reference to emperor or king.

At one stage in this warfare Pope Gregory had the satisfaction of seeing the reigning Emperor, Henry IV. of Germany, whom he had put under the ban of excommunication, wait for three days and nights, barefooted and clad in sackcloth, amid

the winter snowdrifts before the gates of the papal castle of Canossa, suing for forgiveness. That was in 1077, but nine years later proud Gregory was himself humbled in turn, and died in exile on the promontory of Salerno. But nothing is more wonderful in the history of this dark age than the persistence of the Popes. An individual might for the moment fail to secure victory for his cause, but his successor abated no jot or tittle of his pretensions.

The times were propitious to the growth and assertion of the power of Church and Pope. The Crusades broke the power and drained the wealth of princes and nobles, and as the secular power waned that of the ecclesiastics waxed. A century after Gregory's death, we find Innocent III., the persecuting Pontiff, who is infamous as the author of the Inquisition, declaring that "the pontifical authority so much exceeds the royal power as the sun doth the moon." Another claim of this Pope's, and one that was worthy of the man who forced the submission of King John, was contained in the blasphemous words, "I enjoy alone the plenitude of power that others may say of me, next to God, 'And out of his fulness have we received.'"

One of the last acts of Innocent III. was to issue a bull annulling Magna Charta, for he was quick to see that in national and individual liberty resided a deadly foe to the papal supremacy. The Charta lives, but the bull was of no effect from the first. Yet the check which England gave the Pope had no more influence on the policy of his

successors than had the failure of Gregory upon the Popes who came after him. The fourth Innocent laid it down emphatically that "Laymen need only to know that there is a God who rewards the good; and for the rest they are to believe implicitly what the Church believes."

The topstone was put to the papal pretensions by Boniface VIII., and it is noteworthy that his great assertion was the outcome of a quarrel not with England but with France. Philip the Fair had imprisoned a papal legate and ignored the Pope's command to release him. Further, when Boniface summoned a synod at Rome, Philip forbade the French bishops to attend it, and Boniface replied with the famous bull *Unam Sanctam*, in which the papal pretension reaches its highest arrogance. "There is one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," it says, "outside of which there is neither salvation nor remission of sins. We declare, announce, and define, that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."

Pretension could no farther go, and again the law of check to the individual Pope putting it forward came into play. In 1303, the year following the issue of this bull, Boniface was seized and imprisoned by French and Italian malcontents, and died broken-hearted and a captive. Even the imperial city was humiliated, for Philip exerted himself to secure the election as Pope, in succession to Boniface, of Clement V., a Frenchman, over whom he could exercise direct controlling influence

in the event of any new dispute. Philip bargained with Clement, promising to support his election if he would undertake to annul the bulls of Boniface and would also reside on French soil, and Avignon now became for seventy years the seat of the papal court. Yet even during this "Babylonish captivity," as papal writers have called it, there was no abatement of the pontifical claims; and it was against the system built up by Gregory, Innocent, and Boniface that Wycliffe, Huss, and Luther raised their protest.

CHAPTER II.

PROTESTANTS BEFORE PROTESTANTISM.

Early Protests against Papal Claims—The Waldenses—The Paulicians—The Albigenses, and How they were Scourged —Rome Triumphant.

THE lamp of truth may have burned but dimly at times during the ten centuries which saw the upgrowth of the papal power, but the flame was never extinguished. Even before the appointed time came for the Great Protest, there were not wanting brave and good men to raise their voices against the false interpretation of the Gospel teaching, which kept pace with the distortion of the simple order of the Apostolic Church into a far-spreading hierarchy, modelled not on Scriptural but on distinctly secular lines. At the time, these protests must have seemed of no effect, for Rome apparently triumphed over them all. Some of them, too, were faulty, in that their leaders saw but in part the light that was guiding them. But as witnesses, even if imperfect ones, to the imperishable spirit of evangelical truth, these Protestants before Protestantism are worthy to be named in the story of the great movement in which they were pioneers.

For seven centuries the diocese of Milan refused to surrender its liberties to Rome, although it fell

gradually from the evangelical fervour of its great bishop, Ambrose, whose creed, despite a tincture of error inseparable from the time in which he lived, was fundamentally at one with that of the Protestants of to-day.

The mantle of Ambrose fell upon Claudius, Archbishop of Turin in the beginning of the ninth century, who, like Ambrose, was an earnest and indefatigable student of Holy Scripture, and raised his eloquent voice not only against the presumptuous claims of Rome to supremacy, but also against the false doctrine of transubstantiation and the foolish veneration of relics and images. Drawing the truth from its primal fountain, the Word of God, he proclaimed it fearlessly throughout his diocese, and delayed, though he could not prevent, the fall of his Church's independence, so that for two centuries after him the Gospel light shone with greater clearness at the foot of the Alps than over the rest of Italy.

When the submission of Milan and Turin to Rome was at last accomplished, in 1059, there was one part of the great diocese wherein Claudius had preached which held, at least as far as the reading of the Scriptures was concerned, to the pure faith he had taught. The plains were conquered, not so the mountains; and in the mountain fastnesses and valleys of Piedmont the Waldenses fought the good fight. They owe their name to Peter Waldo, of Lyons, who accomplished about 1160 the translation of the New Testament from the Latin of the Vulgate to the vernacular Romaunt

tongue; but an inquisitor of the thirteenth century, Reynerius, alluded to them as "the most dangerous of all heretics, because the most ancient," and there is some warrant for regarding them as the remnant of the Evangelical Church of North Italy, which owed so much to the teaching of Ambrose.

Each parish in these peak-environed Piedmontese valleys had its pastor, or *barbe*, and, if only from the indictments brought against them by their Roman adversaries, we judge that the "heresies" laid to their charge were, in part, the truths that had been taught by the Apostles before them, and that were revived and quickened by the sixteenth century Reformers after them. In this Church of the Alps the youth of the people were gathered at the feet of the more learned and venerable of the pastors, and were encouraged to commit to memory whole Gospels, and to spend part of their time in making fresh copies of the Scriptures in the popular tongue.

The Church of the Alps was a missionary as well as an evangelical Church. Their youth were sent to the seminaries in the great cities of Lombardy, and from that fact it is clear that the separation between the Waldenses and the rest of Christendom was not absolute. Before a young man could be ordained as a pastor among his own people, he was called upon to serve at least three years in the mission field. Two and two they went forth, supporting themselves as pedlars or merchants, and winning a ready welcome in that capacity to

the castle of the knight and the cottage of the churl. In their packs they carried silks or jewellery from distant marts, but they also bore the copies they had made of portions of the Holy Word, and of these they could freely make gift to those who lacked the means to purchase but not the desire to possess.

There was no country of Southern or Central Europe into which these intrepid missionaries did not find entrance. To the west they passed over Southern France and into Spain. Down the Rhine and along the Danube they passed into Germany, Bohemia, and Poland, and traces of their good work were to be found in all the countries through which they went. Not since Jerome gave the world the Bible in the Latin tongue had there been such a scattering of the seed of knowledge. Latin was now a dead language so far as the mass of the population was concerned, and the effect of the revived faith which was kindled by this new distribution of the Divine Word was both widespread and lasting.

The Eastern Church, with its headquarters at Constantinople, had lost much of its primitive purity of faith and practice, just as had the Western Church, with Rome as its centre; and within the sphere of the Eastern Church also there arose what the privileged hierarchy called heresies, in some at least of which are probably to be traced praiseworthy efforts to restore a lost purity of teaching—efforts that were imperfect only because to those who made them the full light was not

vouchsafed. To one alone of these movements need we refer, and only because, although it had its birth on the upper Euphrates, its effects were felt in Southern and Central Europe. At Samosata arose what was long known as the Paulician sect, branded by their enemies as heretics, but whose heresy included a strain of righteousness in its condemnation of the idolatry and superstition that had already gained sway in the Eastern Church as well as in the Western.

The story of the founding of this sect is interesting. To the house of a certain Constantine, at Samosata, came a Christian deacon returning from captivity in Syria. To mark his gratitude for the hospitality he had received, the exile gave a copy of the New Testament to his host, who had hitherto met with but isolated fragments of it. As he read the Scriptures and called his friends to share with him the treasures he had found, he and they saw the errors into which the Church of the Empire had fallen, and they resolved to separate themselves from its communion. The emphasis laid by the new sect upon the Epistles of Paul led to their taking, or being given, the name of Paulicians.

For our knowledge of the tenets of the Paulicians we are largely dependent upon their enemies, from whose accounts it would seem that the leaders of the new body carried their reverence for the teaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles to such an excess that when they crossed the Taurus range and settled near Neo-Cæsarea they assumed the names of his companions. Constantine himself

took the name of Silvanus, and other adherents of the new creed became known as Titus, Timothy, and Epaphroditus.

Soon their numbers were swollen by their zealous preaching ; and their attacks on the worship of the Virgin, and on the adoration of the "cross of wood," no less than their outspoken antagonism to any form of sacerdotalism, aroused the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities at Constantinople. The Emperor, about the year 684, sent a commissioner, Simeon by name, to bring the "heretics" to submission or to put down their movement by stringent measures. The Paulicians held their ground, and their leader, Silvanus, was set by Simeon in front of a company of his disciples, who were ordered to stone him to death. Tradition says that only one of the Paulicians obeyed the order, but he, Justus, brought his master to the ground. Simeon, like another Saul of Tarsus, was so impressed by the constancy of the martyr, that, learning more of his teaching, he himself took his place at the head of the body, and six years later was, in his turn, betrayed by Justus and suffered at the stake, which was planted beside the heap of stones that marked the scene of his predecessor's martyrdom.

Despite continued persecution—perhaps because of it—the number of the Paulicians grew, until in the ninth century no fewer than a hundred thousand of them are said to have perished at the bidding of the Empress Theodora. Stung by their injuries, the Paulicians took up arms, and for nearly forty

years waged war on the Empress, with varying success, until victory at last rested with the Empire, when the remnant of the beaten Paulicians were driven back to their mountains and were afterwards transported across the Bosphorus and settled in Thrace. Once in Europe, they joined themselves to the caravans of merchants going west, and mingled with the hosts of Crusaders returning from the Holy Land to Germany, France, or Lombardy; and wherever they went they carried with them a creed which, despite defects and disfigurements of its own, led them to join themselves everywhere to those who were opposed to the pretensions of Rome and her pernicious teaching.

Among the communities that were strengthened by the exiled Paulicians were the Waldenses and the Albigenses; and to the heroic but tragic story of the latter body, which owes its name to the little town of Alby, in Languedoc, some forty miles south of Toulouse—we must now turn. The Albigenses and Waldenses have been frequently classed as participators in one and the same movement; but though both probably owed much to the teaching of Ambrose, and both were immensely strengthened by the possession of Peter Waldo's Romaunt version of the New Testament, each community had an independent origin in the mingling of scattered congregations which, almost from apostolic times, had endeavoured to preserve a purer faith in face of the growing power and superstition of Rome. When Claudius of Turin, in the ninth century, stood out boldly as an opponent of the worship of

relics, he found in Agobardus, then Archbishop of Lyons, one who shared both his views and his battles. In the first centuries of the Christian era the fields of Languedoc had been drenched with the blood of thousands of martyrs for the faith, and the comparative proximity of the valley of the Rhone to the plains of Lombardy and the Piedmontese valleys brought all these districts under the same influences.

Early in the twelfth century Peter de Bruys, whose followers are known in history as Petrobrussians, preached for twenty years throughout the provinces of Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc against the then generally accepted doctrine of transubstantiation, against the veneration of the crucifix, and against prayers and alms for the dead. He found many followers, and aroused the enmity of the ecclesiastical authorities to such an extent that he was seized and burnt, at St. Giles, near Toulouse, in 1126. For another score of years his work was continued by his colleague, Henri, a monk of Clugny, whose adherents were known as Henricians; but Henri was carried off to Rome and vanished from history, and from that time (1148) all the opponents of Rome in the South of France were classed under the one name of Albigenses. By successive Councils they were anathematised as heretics, and preaching missions were sent out for their reclamation; yet they not only held steadfastly to their faith but constantly grew in numbers and in influence.

By the end of the twelfth century the fervour

of Christian Europe for the Crusades was distinctly beginning to wane, and Pope Innocent III., who succeeded in 1198, realised that the Albigenses at his door were more dangerous to the Church of Rome than were the Saracens of the distant East. He determined to give practical effect to a long series of persecuting edicts and canons which had been fulminated against heretics by successive councils. A new Crusade was preached, not against the enemies of the Cross, but against men and women whose crime was too faithful a service of Him whose "vicegerent" it was the claim of Innocent to be.

Through France and the neighbouring countries went the monks of Citeaux, with full power from the Pope to make "inquisition" as to all heretics, to dispute with them, and to mark down those who were to be dealt with as opportunity presented itself. Whether to Dominic, the founder of the preaching friars, or to Pope Innocent belongs the infamy of originating the Inquisition, its beginnings are to be seen in this Crusade, and its first victims were the Albigenses of Southern France.

A space of three years was occupied in the preparation and preaching of the Great Crusade, and in the spring of 1209 three armies of fanatics were ready to march against the Albigenses. At the head of the movement was the papal legate, Abbot Arnold of Citeaux, and in chief military command was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. The number of Crusaders is put at 50,000, but, says one historian, this reckoning does not include "the

ignorant and fanatical multitude which followed each preacher, armed with scythes and clubs, and promised to themselves that if they were not in a position to combat the knights of Languedoc, they would at least be able to murder the women and children of heretics."

A famous papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, who had attempted to put down the Albigenses by force, had been assassinated within the domain of Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse; so down the valley of the Rhone the army was led to execute vengeance on Raymond, who, although not himself of their Protestant faith, had hitherto protected the objects of the papal wrath with a toleration in advance of his times. Raymond quailed before the storm, and offered to accept whatever terms the papal legate should impose. Bitter was his penance; for he was made first to deliver up to Arnold, on behalf of the Pope, seven of his strongest towns. Next he had to appear, with a rope round his neck, at the door of the church where the murdered legate was buried, and, after being beaten with rods, he was dragged by the legate to Peter's tomb, in the presence of a vast congregation. Last and worst humiliation of all, he had to join the Crusaders in carrying fire and sword throughout his own territories, and to see them pillaged. Repenting of his submission, he decided to brave the papal wrath, but it was too late. He was put under interdict, and his possessions were given to Simon de Montfort.

Second in rank and influence among the rulers

of the district marked down for this terrible scourge was young Raymond Roger, Viscount of Béziers, who no more than the Count of Toulouse was an adherent of the Albigenses, but, unlike the Count, determined from the first to withstand the horde of murderers who, in the name of the Church, were devastating this fair land. Two of his towns, Béziers and Carcassonne, were of considerable size and strength, so, placing some of his most valiant knights in the former stronghold, he himself took command of the garrison of the latter. Passing over a smiling country, the invaders left behind them a blackened, blood-stained desert, and arrived before the walls of Béziers in July, 1209. Before they could fortify their encampment, the gallant garrison of the city made a sortie, but in vain. Borne down by numbers, their broken ranks re-entered the gates, and with them the Crusaders swept in, Béziers at their mercy.

Arnold of Citeaux was asked by the knights how they were to distinguish between Catholics and heretics. "Kill all!" was his reply. "Kill all! The Lord will know His own." Fifteen thousand was the normal population of the town, and some chroniclers say that, swollen by the villagers who had fled thither from the open country, it was quadrupled at the time of the attack. But when the followers of De Montfort and Arnold had done their work of pillage, not a house remained standing or one human being alive in the city, which was given to the flames.

From the blackened ruins of Béziers the Crusaders

marched, with their lust of blood unsated, on Carcassonne, where they arrived on the first day of August, and met with a stout and determined resistance. Massacres and pillage of defenceless villages were more to the taste of these Crusaders than facing the streams of boiling water and oil, and the showers of stones, which were poured down upon them from the strong wall of Carcassonne. Moreover, the forty days' service for which they had enlisted was drawing to a close, and some of the fanatics, persuaded that they were secure of heaven, were eager to return to their homes to enjoy the spoils they had gathered. So the Abbot Arnold, swearing to respect his liberty, induced Raymond Roger and three hundred of his knights to present themselves before his tent. Then, holding that "to keep faith with those that have it not is an offence against the faith," he placed the Viscount and his comrades under arrest. Seeing their leaders made prisoners, the garrison escaped by night to Cabardes by a secret passage, and it was a deserted Carcassonne that fell into the hands of the papal legate.

Thwarted of the holocaust he had planned, Arnold burned alive in the city the three hundred knights whom he had treacherously captured, and with them a hundred fugitives who had fallen into his hands. Then he passed on to "purge" with fire and sword the lands of the Count of Foix, and the Crusade was at an end. What the Crusaders had left undone the Inquisitors accomplished in the next two decades, by the end of which time the Albigenses had all but disappeared from the land

which they had once enriched by their industry and adorned by their art.

For the time being Rome was triumphant, and the reforming spirit was repressed; but the seed had been sown, and it was soon to take root in the heart of a stronger race than even the thirteenth century martyrs of Southern France.

CHAPTER III.

"THE DAYSTAR OF THE REFORMATION."

Roman Claims over England—Refusal of Tribute by Edward III.—Wycliffe at Oxford—Beginning of his War with the Papacy—Cited to Appear before Bishop Courtenay and Archbishop Sudbury—Sends his "Poor Preachers" out to Counteract the Work of the Friars—His Translation of the Scriptures—Questions the Doctrine of Transubstantiation —Is Summoned to Rome—Death.

"WITH whom, think you, are ye contending? With an old man on the brink of the grave? No! with Truth—Truth which is stronger than you, and will overcome you."

Five centuries have come and gone since John Wycliffe hurled these defiant, prophetic words at the Convocation summoned to judge him at Oxford. It is impossible to overestimate the service to the cause of Protestantism rendered by this earliest and greatest of English Reformers. And if ever a nation had need of such service it was the England of the fourteenth century. The King of France was styled "the eldest son of the Church," while the King of England was nominally the vassal of the Pope, and his country felt in a peculiar degree the masterful hand of her overlord.

The annual tribute of a thousand marks which John had promised, for himself and his successors, to the Holy See, was perhaps the smallest part of

the burden laid upon the shoulders of the nation by the papal policy; and, truth to tell, the tribute was more often in arrear than not during the "Babylonish captivity," when successive Popes resided at Avignon, under the influence of France, with which Power England was frequently at variance. But by the appointment of aliens to English benefices and sees, by annates and first-fruits, and by the iniquitous system of "provisors"—the sale of the succession to livings and dignities not yet vacant—a tax was imposed "more hurtful to the realm," as a contemporary writer put it, "than all the king's wars."

Such was the condition of England in the reign of Edward III., when it was computed that almost half of the land was held by the Church. War with France was all but incessant, and to supply the sinews of war imposed no light burden upon the country. Noble and knight, craftsman, farmer, and peasant alike were taxed for the war, but bishop and abbot, priest and monk, were declared by the Pope exempt from any other than a voluntary contribution. Pope Innocent III. had promptly "annulled" Magna Charta, rightly divining the import of that political protest, for the sequel to the signing of the Charta was a succession of statutes aimed at the papal pretensions. One statute forbade appeals from the king's courts to Rome or other foreign courts; the Statute of Provisors dealt a blow at the papal abuse of ecclesiastical patronage in England; and the great Statute of Præmunire, passed in 1353, and re-

enacted and strengthened in 1393, declared that anyone who should attempt to introduce into the country bulls or any other instruments from Rome should be liable to the forfeiture of his possessions, rights, and liberty.

In 1365, after the papal tribute had been in abeyance for a generation, Urban V. demanded of Edward III. not only the revival of the tribute but the payment of arrears! Happily Edward proved himself of sterner stuff than his ancestor John, and he had behind him a stronger nation, to whom the idea of paying tribute to the Pope was not commended by the fact that Urban's court was at Avignon, and therefore on the soil of England's defeated enemy, France. England's protest was provoked, as were all the early protests against the papal pretensions, by the political usurpation of the see of Rome. That some, at least, of the best of England's sons carried the protest farther and challenged the spiritual claims of the papacy, was due to John Wycliffe.

Little is known of the early years of the Reformer, and even his birthplace is in dispute, but it was probably in the village of Hipswell, in the Richmond district of North Yorkshire, that he was born, at some date after 1320. The generally accepted year is 1324.* Very young, as was the custom of

* For details of the Reformer's life, correcting statements generally accepted when Dr. Wylie wrote his work, the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's "England in the Age of Wycliffe," and Mr. R. L. Poole's "Wycliffe and Movements for Reform."

his time, he was sent to Oxford, and at about the age of sixteen became a student, probably of Balliol College, a foundation that owed its existence to a family which had its seat not many miles from his Northern home. That he became a Fellow of the College is clear from the fact that before 1360 he was appointed to the office of Master, as this post was reserved by its statutes for Fellows of the house.

When Wycliffe entered Oxford, the career of the great Bradwardine was drawing to its close, but the Reformer may well have sat at his feet, and Wycliffe acknowledged the influence of Ockham, himself one of the first of the schoolmen of Oxford who had defended the kingdom against the temporal pretensions of the Papacy. When he was chosen Master of Balliol, Wycliffe admittedly stood without a rival among the teachers at Oxford, and a bitter enemy, in a letter to Pope Martin V., after Wycliffe's death, confessed himself "wonderfully astonished" at the "vehemency and force of his reasonings" and the "places of authority" with which they were fortified. In 1361 Wycliffe accepted the College living of Fillingham, in Lincolnshire, and withdrew for a while from Oxford.

His influence as a teacher had spread far beyond the bounds of the University and its colleges, and whether or not he inspired the answer which the English Parliament returned to the Pope's demand for tribute, it is clear that he was in full sympathy with it. A casual reference in one of his writings has been taken to imply, probably without warrant,

that he was actually a member of the Parliament which resolved, when Edward III. laid Urban's demand before it, "Forasmuch as neither King John, nor any other king, could bring his realm and kingdom into such thraldom and subjection but by common assent of Parliament, the which was not given, therefore that which he did was against his oath at his coronation, besides many other causes. If, therefore, the Pope should attempt anything against the King by process, or other matters in deed, the King, with all his subjects, should, with all their force and power, resist the same."

Although the words of this resolution are emphatic, it must not be supposed that its passing (in 1366) marks anything more than a stage, albeit an important one, in the fight for national freedom from the yoke of Rome in ecclesiastical matters. Very shortly after this answer to his claims had been given, the Pope found a defender in England in the person of a monk whose name has not been handed down, who advanced the papal claims in their fullest extravagance, and, singling out Wycliffe, challenged him to disprove his propositions. Here at least is the testimony of a contemporary to the position of the Oxford teacher.

This academic debate with the friar was the beginning of Wycliffe's warfare with the Papacy, and was concerned almost entirely with the Pope's claims to temporal overlordship. Wycliffe speaks of himself as the King's chaplain (*peculiaris regis clericus*), and it would seem that he had attracted

the attention of the King, whose cause he now championed.

Shortly after this debate, Wycliffe exchanged his Lincolnshire living for that of Ludgershall, in Buckinghamshire, which enabled him to keep in close touch with his beloved Oxford, where, about this time, he proceeded to the then rare degree of Doctor of Divinity, and was appointed to the chair of theology. In 1374 he was presented by the Crown to the living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, and in the same year was named one of the Royal Commissioners to confer with the papal nuncios at Bruges on the vexed question of the Pope's interference with ecclesiastical patronage in England. Though this conference produced no very marked result, it probably had the effect of bringing Wycliffe himself prominently before the Papal partisans.

The tract which Wycliffe produced in reply to the monk who championed the Pope's cause has come down to us, and it would be interesting, did space permit, to quote at length from this *Determinatio quædam de dominio*. He argues that "The Pope ought to be above all a follower of Christ, but Christ would not be a proprietor of civil lordship (*dominium*), and so neither should the Pope." As yet it is only against the temporal pretensions of the Pope that Wycliffe protests, but even in this tract we see germs of the arguments which were to lead him subsequently to assail the temporal aggrandisement not only of the Pope but of the Church, in Italy as well as in England.

From his chair at Oxford, from his pulpit at Lutterworth, and through his connections with Parliament and the Court, Wycliffe was a growing power in the land, and the Church set its machinery in motion against the man who was already recognised as the chief director of the current of opinion which was setting dangerously against the hierarchy. At the beginning of 1377 Pope Gregory XI. had brought the "Babylonish captivity" of the Popes to an end by returning to Rome; and from England to the City of the Seven Hills representations of Wycliffe's heresy were made.

Meanwhile, before any answer could be received from Rome, the rector of Lutterworth was cited to appear before William Courtenay, Bishop of London, in St. Paul's, to answer for his teaching. He went, but not alone, for John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Percy, Earl Marshal of England, who were political allies of Wycliffe's, accompanied him, with a train of followers. What would have been the upshot of the trial it is impossible to say, for before it could begin a brawl arose between Lancaster's men and the crowd of citizens, and in the confusion the court was broken up.

This was on February 19, 1377, and in the following May Pope Gregory issued no fewer than five bulls against Wycliffe, three of which were addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, one to the King, and the fifth to the University of Oxford. Nineteen conclusions, drawn from Wycliffe's writings, were

set out, and, if he were found guilty of maintaining them, he was to be imprisoned pending the Pope's sentence. He was accused of teaching, with other "heresies," that no man had a right to possess anything unless he was in a state of grace; that the civil power might lawfully deprive the Church of its temporalities for neglect of duty; that excommunication is of no effect unless its object be already self-excommunicated by sin; that there is no warrant for enforcing temporal exactions by ecclesiastical censures, and that the Pope only "binds" and "looses" so far as he himself conforms to the law of God.

Before the bulls reached England, Edward III. died, and his young grandson was proclaimed king as Richard II. The newly elected Parliament, as one of its first acts, asked the advice of Wycliffe as to "whether the kingdom of England might not lawfully, in case of necessity, detain and keep back the treasure of the kingdom for its defence, that it be not carried away to foreign and strange nations, the Pope himself demanding and requiring the same, under pain of censure." As Wycliffe advised Parliament that the payments could and should be withheld, there is small wonder that the prelates proceeded to act at once upon the papal bulls as soon as they were received, although the death of King Edward naturally delayed proceedings. The University, jealous of the slight put upon one of its chief ornaments, quickly decided that the opinions cited from Wycliffe's teachings were not heretical, but merely carelessly expressed. When

Archbishop Sudbury, the Primate, summoned Wycliffe to appear before his court at Lambeth in April, 1378, no John of Gaunt stood by the side of the Reformer; for the Duke, while willing enough to ally himself with Wycliffe in any attack on the temporalities of the Church, which were always a tempting bait to the barons, had a wholesome dread of "heresy." But if the Duke of Lancaster failed Wycliffe, the Princess of Wales, who, as mother of the young King, was virtually Regent, remembered his services to the Court and kingdom, and sent a message to the Archbishop to forbid the passing of any sentence on the accused. A crowd of citizens filled the chapel, and for the second time Wycliffe escaped scot free.

Before the news of this reverse could be carried to Rome Gregory XI. died; and scarcely had Urban VI. been chosen to succeed him when the French cardinals, who were the majority in the college, escaped from Rome to Avignon, and, declaring the former election void on the ground that it had been made under duress of the Roman populace, chose the French Bishop of Geneva as Pope, under the title of Clement VII. Each Pope was too busy abusing and anathematising his rival as Antichrist to spare thought for a mere "heretic" in far-off England. Yet the schism which, humanly speaking, stayed the persecution of the Reformer was the force which now impelled him to go farther than ever before. Hitherto he had acted simply as a patriot, jealous first of England's freedom from foreign dominion, and as a patriot

had criticised what he thought abuses in a system which he still respected. But the schism changed him at once from a friendly but unsparing critic to an open and intrepid assailant of the whole system of the Papacy.

When Rome hurled thunders at Avignon, and Avignon replied with fulminations against Rome, and the rival claimants to the Papacy dubbed each other Antichrist, Wycliffe asked whether in this instance both might not be right. "The Fiend," he said, "no longer reigns in one but in two priests, that men may the more easily, in Christ's name, overcome them both." Then he writes "On the Truth and Meaning of Scripture," proclaiming the supreme authority of Scripture as the law of the Church, and prepares the way for what was perhaps his greatest and crowning service to English Protestantism, the first complete English Bible.

It was about this time, according to one of his biographers, that the Reformer fell ill at Lutterworth, and was visited by a body of friars, who exhorted him to express contrition before his death for injuries he had done their orders. Making his servant lift him a little from his pillow, the sick man, it is declared, exclaimed with a loud voice, "I shall not die, but live to declare the evil deeds of the friars."

To counteract the work of the friars, "the standing army of the Pope," and to spread his own views, Wycliffe sent out his "simple priests" or "poor preachers" over the length and breadth of the land, to preach the Gospel to the people in

their own language. To the public preaching of a teaching ministry he attached prime importance, and to this he joined the reading of the Scriptures. But as yet there was no complete English version to be found, and Wycliffe set himself to provide one.

In all public and official proceedings English was already rapidly taking the place of the monkish and debased Latin, and the more enlightened bishops were urging their clergy to use the English tongue for their sermons and exhortations to the people. Quick to catch the spirit of the time, Wycliffe, with the aid of friends, set to work on the translation of the Latin of the Vulgate version into the vigorous Saxon of his day. The whole of the New Testament in this version is the work of Wycliffe himself, but probably the greater part of the Old Testament was translated by his associate, Nicholas Hereford, Wycliffe revising it. Printing was as yet an undiscovered art—the first printed book, a Bible, did not issue from the press of Gutenberg and Fust until about 1455—but the work was lovingly copied with the pen by Wycliffe's disciples, and carried by his "poor preachers" into every town and village. How numerous must have been the copies in circulation may be judged from the fact that a hundred and fifty of the whole or parts of Wycliffe's Bible have survived to our own time the repression and burnings of his day and of the century that followed it.

The date of the translation was about 1379, and for thirty years it was allowed to pass from

hand to hand without direct ecclesiastical censure. Meanwhile the work of translation seems to have had as quickening an effect on Wycliffe's own mind as the reading or hearing of the Scriptures had upon large numbers of his fellow-countrymen. From being a critic of the papal pretensions, he became an assailant not only of the Papacy but of sacerdotalism, and condemned the wealth of the Church as unsparingly as the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. Then, feeling that the exaltation of the priesthood over their fellow-Christians rested largely on the "sacrifice of the altar," he examined and attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation.

It was in 1381, the year of Wat Tyler's rising, that Wycliffe first publicly questioned the validity of transubstantiation. As this occurred at Oxford, the Chancellor of the University made haste to summon a council of twelve doctors of theology and law, half of whom were friars, and by this council the innovation was condemned. Disregard of this condemnation implied expulsion from the University, and the conclusion which the council had reached was conveyed to Wycliffe in the schools. "But," he objected, "you ought first to have shown me I am in error." The only answer was a reminder of the judgment and of the penalty for disobedience, and so Wycliffe appealed not to the Primate or to the Pope, but to the King. Meanwhile, he withdrew from Oxford to Lutterworth, where the Chancellor had no jurisdiction.

One of the victims of the Peasants' Rising had been Archbishop Sudbury, and his successor was

Courtenay, who had presided at the first abortive trial of Wycliffe in London. On May 17, 1382, the new Primate summoned a synod to meet at the Black Friars in London to examine into the heresies charged against Wycliffe and his associates at Oxford. The Reformer himself does not seem to have been present, and the first session of the synod was interrupted by an earthquake, which the new Primate took to be a portent of "the purging of the kingdom from heresies"! For three days the court sat in judgment on twenty-six propositions that had been selected from Wycliffe's writings and were read out by an officer of the court, which condemned ten of them as heretical and the rest as erroneous. A commissary was sent down to Oxford by the Archbishop to publish and enforce the judgment. He met with a very mixed reception, but four of Wycliffe's associates were suspended from teaching until they recanted.

As to the Reformer, he seems to have withdrawn about this time to his rectory. The prelates secured the passing by the Lords of a persecuting edict which threatened to put down his "poor preachers," but Wycliffe had sufficient power with Parliament to secure its repeal, and he presented to Parliament a petition for a sweeping measure of Church reform. These were years of incessant activity for the great teacher, now grown old, and his vigour impaired by a paralytic seizure. Yet in an effective tract, "The Crusade," he assailed the prodigal offer of indulgences by which Pope Urban sought to raise funds for a crusade against

his rival at Avignon. This put the crown on Wycliffe's offending, and the Pope summoned him to answer for his heresies at Rome. But the summons was too late; the Reformer's work was done. On December 28, 1384, he had been seized a second time by paralysis, in his church at Lutterworth, and on the last day of the year he passed away.

John Wycliffe has well been called, as well as "The Daystar of the Reformation," "The Father of English Prose," and the service which he rendered the English language by the issue of his version of the Bible was of untold value. He stands out as the greatest and most characteristic of English patriots as well as the first of English Reformers, and the effect of his teaching was more lasting and widespread than that of any of his predecessors in the struggle against Rome, because he taught English statecraft as well as English Christianity the lesson of advancing one step at a time. When he died he was peacefully buried at Lutterworth, but nearly fifty years afterwards his body was disinterred and burned, by order of the Council of Constance, and the ashes were thrown into a stream by the churchyard of Lutterworth. Thus, as old Thomas Fuller says in words that have often been quoted, "The brook did convey his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over." The folly of this piece of vindictive desecration is best seen in

the fact that the very Council which ordered it was confronted by two of his followers, whose offence, as we shall see, was that they preached in far-off Bohemia the lessons which Wycliffe had taught at Oxford and Lutterworth.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LOLLARDS IN ENGLAND.

Richard II. an Opponent of Reformation—Persecution of the Lollards under Henry IV. and Henry V.—The First Protestant Martyr in England—The Burning of John Badby—Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham—The Midnight Meeting in Ficket Field, London—Martyrdom of Lord Cobham—The Lollards Saved from Extinction by the Wars of the Roses.

WYCLIFFE was dead, but his work lived on, and, only a few years after his death, we find a monk of Leicester complaining that every second man one met was a "Lollard"—a contemptuous term, half political and half ecclesiastical in its significance, which was hurled at critics of Church abuses. The statement was obviously exaggerated, but it nevertheless bears eloquent testimony to the good work that had been set on foot by John Wycliffe and carried on by the "poor preachers," and even more by the open Bible that he had put into their hands. It was the possession of the Scriptures which gave to the movement its lasting character. We have seen that it was when Wycliffe turned to the Scriptures that he advanced from the position of a critic of papal abuses to that of an assailant of the whole system of Rome; and the Spirit which spoke to him through the Word touched the hearts of his disciples also. The appeal of Protestantism

in all ages has been to the Scriptures as the infallible rule of faith, and Wycliffe had done his land the inestimable service of giving it the Word in the tongue of the market and the country side. In the Bible in the English language he had brought a new force into English life, and it was largely owing to the working of this force that when the Reformation reached the shores of England its doctrines found a soil prepared for their reception by the first and greatest of English Protestants.*

The earlier Lollards were probably surprised to find themselves regarded as heretics, and many of them accompanied outspoken declarations of evangelical truth with expressions of profound respect for individual Popes. They had no idea of dissent or schism from the Church, and aimed, as did Wycliffe himself through the greater part of his career, at reform from within her communion. The disproportionate share of the land of the country held by the Church was a standing grievance with the country squires and the lower ranks of the nobility, and so long as the Wycliffites, or Lollards, contented themselves with attacking the abuses of ecclesiastical property, they had many sympathisers in these classes, who fell away as the movement became less political and more spiritual in character. But there can be little doubt that the welcome which the Lollards received as politicians gave them opportunities, which would otherwise have

* For many facts referred to in this chapter the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's "England in the Age of Wycliffe."

been lacking, for the spread of their evangelical teaching.

In 1395, little more than ten years after the death of Wycliffe, his followers thought themselves strong enough to press for a reformation in the Church. Certain members of the Privy Council presented a petition to Parliament urging the necessity for reformation in religion, and attacking transubstantiation, the worship of images, prayers for the dead, auricular confession, indulgences, the celibacy of the clergy, and the mingling of sacred and secular offices. While one copy of this petition was presented to Parliament, another was nailed to the door of St. Paul's Cathedral, to arouse the faithful among the citizens of London.

When this petition was presented to Parliament, Richard II. was engaged on one of his expeditions to Ireland. Forthwith Arundel, Archbishop of York, made haste to carry the news to the King. Richard was deeply moved, and on his return to London he forbade Parliament to proceed in the matter of the petition. Calling before him Sir Richard Stury, a Privy Councillor, who had taken a leading part in drawing up the petition and the "conclusions" by which it was supported, the King made him forswear his opinions. "And," said the angry Richard, "I swear to you that, if you ever break your oath, I will slay you by the foulest death that may be."

Four years later, Richard II., deposed and humiliated, died, or was murdered, in Pontefract Castle, and Henry of Lancaster, son of the John of

Gaunt who had been Wycliffe's ally, reigned in his stead. Richard had been no friend to Wycliffe or his work, and had attempted to force on the Commons an ordinance against the "poor preachers" even in the Reformer's lifetime; and the magnificent tomb which the King built in Westminster Abbey for himself and his first Queen, Anne of Bohemia, still bears his proud boast that "He overthrew the heretics and laid their friends low."

John of Gaunt's son, who now reigned as Henry IV., was eager to consolidate his position, which he owed in no small degree to the Church party, who were smarting under the repeated attempts of the Lollards to bring about the seizure of the lands of the Church and their application to the relief of taxation. In the first year of Henry's reign the Church determined to take vengeance on the Lollards, and, for the first time, the Statute Book was stained by an Act, *De Hæretico Comburendo*, ordering the burning by the secular authorities of all persons adjudged by the bishops to be heretics who refused to abjure.

The new Act was not intended, or allowed, to remain a dead letter, and within a few weeks of its passing into law England gave its first martyr to Protestantism in the person of William Sawtre, a London priest, who was condemned by the bishops' court, on charges among which were included these —"That he will not worship the Cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ who suffered on the Cross," and that he declared "That after pronouncing the sacramental words of the body of

Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither does it cease to be bread." Condemned by the court on these charges, he was first solemnly degraded, and robbed in turn of all symbols of his office of priest, deacon, sub-deacon, acolyte, and exorcist. Then as a layman he was handed over to the secular arm, and died in the flames on February 12, 1401, the first to seal with his blood the witness of English Protestantism.

Fiercely now ran through the land the fires of persecution and the terrors of inquisition. Many professors of the Reformed faith recanted when put to the test, and the Lollards had still, in these early years of persecution, sufficient support in the Parliament to put some restraint on the bishops and their officers, although the Crown was on the side of the Church. John Purvey, who had shared the labours of Wycliffe's later years at Lutterworth, was one of those who could not brave the terrors of death for the faith he had done much to spread, and three days after Sawtre's martyrdom he read his recantation at Paul's Cross. Many others who were accused before the bishops saved their lives in the same way in the early days of the struggle; but the records have come down to us of some who were cast in a stronger mould.

Among these was John Badby, a tailor of Evesham, who was arraigned before the Bishop of Worcester in 1409, for denial of transubstantiation, convicted, and sent for final judgment to Arundel, who had now become Archbishop of Canterbury. The humble tailor was haled before

the two archbishops, eight bishops, the Duke of York, and the Chancellor of England, sitting at St. Paul's, and resolutely maintained before the assembled dignitaries, as he had done before the Bishop of Worcester, that "Christ sitting at supper could not give His disciples His living body to eat." On the forenoon of March 15, he was pronounced "an open and public heretic," and a few hours later he was hurried to Smithfield. Foxe says he was put into an empty barrel and bound with iron chains to a stake round which the faggots were piled. In the throng of spectators was Prince Henry, the heir to the throne and the future victor of Agincourt, and the gallant young prince sought in vain to win some words of recantation from the poor tailor. At last the torch was applied to the faggots, and in the writhings of the martyr Prince Henry thought he saw signals of relenting. Ordering the burning faggots to be torn from the scorched body the prince offered the tailor not only his life, but a pension throughout it, for a word of repentance. But the word was not given, and the brave tailor perished in the flames.

Two years before this event Archbishop Arundel had convened at Oxford an assembly of the bishops and clergy of his province, and had promulgated what are known as the Constitutions of Arundel, for the checking of heresy. The first object of these was the prohibition of preaching by men who had not a licence from the bishop of the diocese, or whose orthodoxy had not been proved by the bishop's examination. No book of Wycliffe's, or

book or tract written by anyone after Wycliffe, was to be read within the province of Canterbury unless it had been first examined by the University of Oxford or Cambridge. And, finally, it was ordained that no unauthorised person should translate any part of Holy Scripture into English, or any other language; nor should any such version, made in Wycliffe's time or since, be read publicly or privately, under the penalty of the greater excommunication, until the translation had been approved either by the bishop of the diocese or by a provincial council.

While the English Church was thus endeavouring to cope with the Lollards, Christendom continued to be scandalised by the schism in the Papacy which had so powerfully affected Wycliffe. Various efforts had been made to heal the breach, and now a renewed attempt was made at the Council of Pisa, in 1409. Asked to say which of the rival Popes was the true Vicar of Christ, the assembled fathers of the Church cut the Gordian knot by pronouncing both the claimants, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., "to be notorious and incorrigible schismatics and heretics," declaring the apostolic see vacant, and filling it by the election of the Cardinal of Milan to the Papacy under the title of Alexander V. Thus the schism was deepened and widened by the Council that was expected to bring it to an end, and for the time being there were three Popes, where formerly there had been but two, and where only one could have been regularly elected.

In England, in the later years of Henry IV.,

Archbishop Arundel was not only Primate but Chancellor, and whatever may have been the perplexities of the bishops as to their relations to the papal throne and its rival claimants—perplexities which were often solved by the withholding of "Peter's Pence" from one and all of the three Popes—they did not relax their persecution of the Lollards. Nor did the accession of Henry V., in 1413, produce any change for the better.

A leader among the Lollards was Sir John Oldcastle, a knight of Herefordshire, who had gallantly borne arms in France under Henry IV., and was held in high esteem by that King and by his son, who had now succeeded him. Sir John had learned the new faith by reading the Bible and by the study of Wycliffe's writings, and on his Herefordshire estates he had done much to protect the Lollard preachers, while he was one of those who paid for the copying of Wycliffe's works and their distribution in foreign countries. Shortly before the death of Henry IV. the knight married, as his third wife, Joan, heiress of Lord Cobham, and in virtue of his wife's barony he was known as Lord Cobham, becoming possessed of considerable estates on the shores of the Thames and Medway. In his new home he continued that patronage of the Lollards which was only to be expected from one who had declared from his place in Parliament "that it would be very commodious for England if the Pope's jurisdiction stopped at the town of Calais, and did not cross the sea."

But it was one thing to protect Lollardism on

the Western marches, and another to defend it within easy reach of the capital, and in the diocese of the Primate himself. When the news was brought to Convocation that Lord Cobham had stood, sword in hand, by the side of a Lollard preacher, to defend him from the insults of the friars, Archbishop Arundel declared that "Christ's coat would never be without seam" until this abettor of heretics was taken out of the way. Against the King's friend Convocation was chary of moving hastily, so the Archbishop and some of his suffragans laid their complaint before the young sovereign. For the second time Henry tried his power of persuasion on a heretic, but he was no more successful with the courtier-soldier than he had been with John Badby the tailor, and the Archbishop was left to take his own course.

A messenger was sent to summon Lord Cobham to appear before the Primate in London, but he shut himself in his castle of Cooling, and denied the jurisdiction of the Pope's agents, until the King's writ for his arrest arrived, when he surrendered to the royal officers and was brought before Arundel and the bishops in the Chapter House of St. Paul's on September 23, 1413. He boldly professed his faith, and persisted in the repudiation of transubstantiation and auricular confession, which were the chief charges in the indictment against him, concluding with the valiant declaration, "I will none otherwise believe in these points than I have told you before. Do with me what you will." Forthwith he was sentenced to death,

and was handed over to the Governor of the Tower. But the knight's friendship with the King secured him a respite of forty days, and he used the interval to make his escape from the Tower to the Welsh mountains.

The seizure of Lord Cobham greatly perturbed the Lollards in and near London, and they rightly thought that when a man in the position of Sir John Oldcastle was not safe humbler folk had nothing to hope for from the Government. In January, 1414, word was brought to the King at his palace at Eltham that the Lollards were planning a midnight meeting in Ficket Field, in St. Giles's Fields, between the then separated London and Westminster, with the object of dethroning the King, destroying all the cathedrals in the land, and confiscating all the property of the Church. Such was the story told to the young King, and, while the aims of the conspirators were probably misrepresented and exaggerated, it is hardly possible to accept the explanation of some historians that the sole purpose of the gathering was united worship, and that it was entirely devoid of political significance. Be this as it may, the trial of Sir John Oldcastle had apparently had its effect in withdrawing from the ranks of professed Lollards the country gentry and men of substance, and only one knight is mentioned as among those present at the meeting, which testified by its numbers to the popularity of the Wycliffite preaching round the capital.

Some say that Lord Cobham was present at

the gathering in Ficket Field, and that he once more escaped when the King, at the head of his troops, appeared on the field, following a banner on which was emblazoned a cross, after the fashion of the Crusaders. Without leaders, and practically without arms, the multitude broke and fled when the royal troops appeared. Some were cut down on the spot, and more as they fled, only to find the gates of London held against them. Sir Roger Acton, a friend of Lord Cobham, and twenty-eight other leaders who were among the host of prisoners, were condemned for heresy, and attainted of high treason, and were sentenced for the civil offence to be drawn and hanged, and for the crime of heresy to be burned, gallows and all, for nothing short of fire would satisfy the bishops. This was only the beginning of an active campaign against the Lollards, many of whom suffered at Smithfield during the next few years, while others fled to Germany, Bohemia, and France, as well as into the wilds of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Wherever they went, the fugitives carried with them the writings of Wycliffe, and thus, by the very persecution which was devised for its overthrow, the purer faith was carried to fresh lands, where it made new conquests in the hearts of the people.

At the time of the dispersal of the meeting in Ficket Field there was a price of a thousand marks on the head of Sir John Oldcastle, and it says much for the esteem in which he was held that it was not until nearly four years afterwards that his hiding-place was discovered by Lord Powis,

who handed him over to his pursuers. Parliament happened to be sitting when he was carried back to London, so he was brought before the Lords, and, as an outlaw and excommunicated heretic, was sentenced to the double punishment as traitor to King and Church. He was dragged on a hurdle from the Tower to St. Giles's in the Fields, where, at the foot of the gallows, he prayed for his enemies in the presence of the crowd, whom he enjoined to follow the laws of God as written in the Scriptures. His address over, he was slung over the fire by iron chains about his waist, and died bravely, commending his soul to God.

Archbishop Arundel had not lived to see put into execution the sentence which he had passed upon Sir John Oldcastle, for he died soon after Sir John's escape from the Tower, and Henry Chicheley succeeded him as Primate and as chief persecutor of the Lollards. In 1414, the year of the meeting in Ficket Field, a Parliament at Leicester passed an Act in which it was decreed that any person found guilty of reading the Scriptures in English, now called "Wycliffe's Learning," should be liable to forfeiture of his goods, and to be hanged as traitor to the king, and burned for heresy against God. Yet the very Parliament which passed this statute gave proof of the hold which some of Wycliffe's teachings still retained on the mind of the public, for it showed a strong disposition to deal with the matter of Church property, and was only turned from this purpose by the outbreak of the war with France.

The frequency with which Parliament and Convocation were called upon to make laws or regulations for coping with the Lollards shows the hold which the Faith had on the people, for there would have been no need of new laws if the operation of the old ones had not proved ineffectual to stop the spread of the "heresy." Lollardism had no longer any patrons in high places, and only here and there among the roll of its martyr heroes do we find the name of a cleric or learned man; yet year by year the roll grew. As an organised movement, Lollardism may be said to have received its death-blow in England when Henry V. dispersed the meeting in St. Giles's Fields; but for a century longer its spirit lingered in England, nerving men to suffer the spoiling of their goods, and in many cases to endure bodily torture and even death. And all the while Wycliffe's Bible was preserved, his writings were still circulating, and men's hearts were being prepared by their reading and study for the greater movement of the sixteenth century. The seed was germinating, and it is to the silent work of the fifteenth century that England owed its preparedness for the Reformation which came in the sixteenth.

Arundel's successor in the primacy, Chicheley, while on the one hand he enforced and even strengthened the laws against the Lollards, showed himself a patriot in withstanding a fresh attempt to rivet the papal chains on England. The great schism in the Papacy had at length been ended by the Council of Constance in 1417, and one Pope,

Martin V., held undisputed sway in Rome. He turned his attention to English affairs, and wrote a letter to Archbishop Chicheley protesting against the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, which had been put upon the statute book by Edward III. and Richard II. Chicheley was instructed to tell the Lords and Commons "that all who obeyed the Statute of Præmunire were under excommunication." The Archbishop had formerly advised Henry V. to refuse admission to the Pope's legate; and because now he failed to induce Parliament to repeal statutes which were obnoxious to the Pope he was censured from the Vatican. But it is significant of the jealousy with which the law against the introduction of papal bulls was enforced that the Archbishop complained that he only knew of his sentence by report, as he was compelled to yield up the instruments, with the seals whole, to the King's officers.

When the Wars of the Roses came to monopolise for three decades the thought of England, individual Lollards were still being hunted and harried to death, but this diversion of the attention of the Government saved the remnant from extinction. One effect of the Wars of the Roses upon England was to strengthen the position of the sovereign at the expense of both nobles and Church, and thus to weaken the power of the latter for persecution. And as the land settled down under the Tudor sway a fresh impetus was given to the spread of new ideas, and a powerful weapon was put into the hands of the Reformers by the introduction of

the art of printing, which was destined to play a leading part in the history of Protestantism in England and over the whole of Christendom. But before we trace the effect of this innovation in his own country, we must turn to the story of the work to which Wycliffe's writings contributed so largely on the Continent, and especially in far-off Bohemia.

CHAPTER V.

HUSS AND THE STRUGGLE IN BOHEMIA.

How the Seed Scattered by Wycliffe was carried to Bohemia—Story of John Huss—Parallels between Wycliffe and Huss—Wycliffe's Writings Burnt at Prague—Martyrdom of Huss and Jerome—Ziska's Rising—Protestantism as a National Force.

GREAT as was the effect of Wycliffe's teaching in his own England, it was more immediately successful in Bohemia, where, as in the Reformer's own country, successive protests against the temporal pretensions of the Papacy had prepared men's minds for the new lesson. Living as we do in days when a striking pronouncement in any one continent is immediately echoed and re-echoed by the Press of the whole civilised world, it is difficult, if not impossible, for us to grasp the conditions under which, before the invention of printing, the dead Wycliffe spoke, through his writings, to the Bohemians, and so moved them that, for the first time in history, Europe learnt what was meant by a national rising for liberty of conscience. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Latin was still the general language for all universities and for all teaching, and this made it possible for a scholar of any nationality to carry on his studies in a foreign seat of learning, to which he may have

been attracted by the fame of some particular teacher. Between Oxford and the great universities of the Continent there had long been an interchange of teachers and students; and the marriage of Richard II. with a Bohemian princess served specially to link the two countries, and, incidentally, to increase communication between the then young university at Prague with its older sister on the Isis, when Wycliffe was at the height of his power there.

The students returned to Bohemia taking with them copies which they had lovingly made of the writings of Wycliffe. The teachings of the English thinker met with a hearty reception in the land which had given refuge to a remnant of the persecuted Waldenses and Albigenses—a land that had never been without witnesses to a faith purer than that of Rome and the Papacy. Despite wholesale proscription and burning, many of these copies of Wycliffe's writings still survive, and are now to be seen in the public libraries of Prague, Vienna, and other cities—striking witnesses to the zeal of both master and disciples. The copies carried abroad from England were themselves reproduced again and again in Bohemia; and in the Royal Library at Stockholm is one—part of the booty carried off by the Swedes from Bohemia at the close of the Thirty Years' War—in the handwriting of John Huss, the man who has given his name to the Reformation movement in Bohemia.

John Huss, who took his name from a little town on the edge of the forest near the source of

the Moldau, was born at Hussinetz on July 6, 1369. Coming from a humble home, he himself confessed in later years that he was first led to think of becoming a priest by seeing the comfort in which the Bohemian clergy lived. Entering the University of Prague, he became successively Bachelor of Arts and of Theology, and in 1396 graduated as Master of Arts. He now took orders, and rapidly attained to a good position, as is witnessed by the fact that Queen Sophia, wife of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, selected the peasant's son as her confessor. But Huss was of the type of man to address himself rather to the people than to the Court; and his opportunity came in the year 1402, when he was appointed preacher to the Chapel of Bethlehem, in Prague, a post whose occupant had no parochial duties, but was compelled to preach on all "church days" to the townspeople in their own language. Huss had now ample opportunities for studying the Scriptures, and his sermons, in which he thundered against the wickedness that he saw around him in high places, and especially in the Church, soon bore witness to the working of the Spirit of Truth and Holiness.

While lecturing in the university, he had made acquaintance with Wycliffe's philosophical treatises; and now he began to study the theological works of the master, which were spread broadcast over Bohemia in the opening years of the fifteenth century, and had been read to such good purpose that in 1407 the Archbishop of Prague was warned by the Pope of the necessity for uprooting Wycliffism

in his province. Of the students who introduced the writings of the English Reformer the most noted was Jerome of Faulfisch, who joined himself to the preacher of the Bethlehem Chapel, shared his labours, and followed him to the stake. "Hitherto," said Jerome, "we have had only the shell of knowledge, but Wycliffe has disclosed the kernel." Neither Huss nor Jerome followed the English teacher completely, but the ecclesiastical authorities were quick to see what would be the natural sequel of Huss's impassioned attacks on abuses in the Church.

The situation in which at one point of his career Huss found himself singularly resembled that of Wycliffe in England. Huss, like Wycliffe, had a certain measure of sympathy from the Court and the nobility—sympathy that was probably prompted more by jealousy of the temporal wealth of the Church than by any genuine desire for reform—and while he alienated the priests he won over the people; and, to complete the parallel, a national quarrel with the Pope drew upon Huss, as the nation's spokesman, the attention of the Church.

The period of Huss's outspoken preaching of Wycliffe's doctrines on Church government and Church abuses was that of the closing year of the papal schism, when statesmen, ecclesiastical and lay alike, were straining every nerve to bring about some settlement of the differences that were severely taxing the loyalty of Christendom. The Council of Pisa, in 1409, added a third claimant to the triple crown, and incidentally to the support

of the princes and people of Europe; and it was in a contest for the recognition of a candidate for the Papacy that the general quarrel between Huss and the ecclesiastics became acute. King Wenceslaus and Huss were on one side in the dispute about the Papacy, and carried with them the majority of the Bohemian nobles and people. The Archbishop of Prague was a supporter of the Pope, Alexander V., who was elected by the Council of Pisa, and who early in his short pontificate issued a bull ordering the Archbishop to stamp out Wycliffism in Bohemia. Even before the election of Pope Alexander, the King's desire to observe an attitude of neutrality towards the rival candidates for the Papacy had brought about a great secession of foreign teachers and students from the University of Prague, who separated from the foundation in protest against the policy advocated by Huss and supported by Wenceslaus. The effect of their withdrawal was to give to Huss the position of a national champion, and to mark him down for the attacks of the ecclesiastics whom for the moment he had defeated.

When Pope Alexander's bull reached Prague, the Archbishop ordered a commission of inquiry into the prevalence of Wycliffite teaching. Seventeen works of the English Reformer were condemned, and all copies of them were ordered to be seized and burned. Before this happened, John XXIII. had succeeded Alexander V. as third and most regular claimant to the Papacy; and to him Huss and some of his colleagues in the University

appealed against the Archbishop's sentence, but in vain. More than two hundred copies of the proscribed books were collected, and the position and devotion of their owners may be inferred from the fact that many of the beautifully written sheets were exquisitely bound in covers enriched with precious stones. All alike were piled in the streets of Prague, and, while the church bells solemnly tolled, were publicly burned. This occurred on July 16, 1410, and the magnitude of the futile holocaust, whose material was collected from a single Bohemian city, bore striking testimony to the living work of the brave Englishman who had now lain ten years in his grave.

The people of Bohemia felt that the attack of the Church was really directed against the living Huss rather than the dead Wycliffe; and when the Archbishop proceeded to excommunicate the preacher at the Chapel of Bethlehem, and all who had refused to give up their copies of the proscribed books, public feeling against the prelate ran high. Huss continued his sermons, defending the orthodoxy of Wycliffe's teaching, and persevering in his attacks on the abuses in the Church. For a time the popularity of Huss and the interest of the King and some of the nobles stayed the hand of his would-be persecutors, although an appeal to the Pope only led to a renewal of the sentence of excommunication upon him. But the affairs of the peasant-born preacher of Prague were becoming involved in the European strife, on the one hand for the Papacy, on the other for

the crown of the Empire; of which Sigismund of Brandenburg was possessed, but to which his brother King Wenceslaus of Bohemia was not willing to have it thought he had renounced all claim.

In furtherance of his own schemes, Pope John issued, towards the end of 1411, a bull of indulgence for a Crusade, and Huss was impelled by conscience to repeat and emphasise Wycliffe's teaching as to the sinfulness and unscriptural character of indulgences. He held a public disputation on the subject in the University, and his more scholarly disciple Jerome, who aided him, was led in triumph round the city by a body of the younger students, whose enthusiasm was caught up by the populace. When the Pope's preachers of indulgences were angrily interrupted by their hearers, and the papal bull itself was carried about the streets of Prague in mock procession and finally burned, the King took alarm. Despite the entreaties of Huss, three protesters against the preaching of indulgences were put to death, and Wenceslaus was induced to confirm a finding of the theological faculty of the University condemning the teaching of Wycliffe and Huss. The Pope, too, pronounced the sentence of the greater excommunication on Huss, and ordered that he should be seized and burned, and his chapel destroyed. The Council of Pisa, by the bold way in which it had attempted to terminate the schism in the Papacy, had set even "orthodox" minds thinking that Councils stood above Popes,

and to a General Council Huss appealed from the Pope's judgment.

Meanwhile the King advised Huss to quit Prague, and this he did, writing at the time to his friends in the Chapel of Bethlehem, "I have retired, not to deny the truth, for which I am willing to die, but because impious priests forbid the preaching of it."

When we turn to Huss's writings, it is easy to see why the wrath of the papal court was outpoured upon him, and how far he followed in the path which Wycliffe had marked out. In his treatise "On the Church," he brushes aside the theory of the hierarchy, and teaches that communion with its Invisible Head, the Lord Jesus Christ, is alone necessary to constitute membership of the true Church. This, in itself, was a striking condemnation of the traditional theories of the ecclesiastics; but in "The Six Errors" Huss dealt the priests even harder blows; and it is worth while setting out these six "errors" to show how far Huss had advanced. The first was the error of the priests who boasted of being the creator of their Creator by "making the body of Jesus Christ" in the mass; the second was the exaction of the confession, "I believe in the Pope and the Saints"; the third was the priestly pretence to remit the guilt and punishment of sin; the fourth, the implicit obedience demanded by ecclesiastical superiors; the fifth, the absence of any distinction between a valid and an invalid excommunication; the sixth was simony. No

wonder the Pope was anxious to deal with so outspoken a critic!

The Council of Constance, which was summoned at the instance of the Emperor Sigismund, was called together first to end the schism in the Papacy, and secondly to stamp out heresy. The Council of Pisa had only disposed of the claims of the original two rivals for the triple crown by declaring both deposed, and electing a new Pope. Alexander V., who was the nominee of the Council of Pisa, died in the following year, 1410, and was succeeded by the infamous John XXIII.; but when the great Council of Constance met four years later, his two rivals, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., had not been wholly repudiated. It was not until the spring of 1415 that John fled from Constance, and was brought back a captive to hear that the Council had deposed him and his rivals, one of whom bowed to the decision of the Council, while the other received so small a measure of support that his particular "schism" quickly died out.

Many among John Huss's friends were opposed to his venturing to Constance, whither he had been cited in the autumn of 1414. He carried with him a safe-conduct from the Emperor, but the misgivings of his friends were justified by his arrest, within a month of his arrival in the city, upon a charge of heresy on three points. The first charge was that he had taught that it was necessary to receive the Eucharist in both kinds; the second, that the validity of the sacraments depended on the character of the priest; the third, that the

Church must be governed only by the elect and sanctified. At first Huss was the prisoner of the Pope; but after the flight of John XXIII. he was handed over to the custody of the Bishop of Constance, by whom he was kept in irons. Meanwhile the Council proceeded to make itself eternally infamous by its condemnation of Wycliffe's teaching, and by its insensate decree of vengeance on the dead teacher's bones.

The dead master having been thus dealt with, the Council now turned to the living disciple, who, loaded with fetters, had spent the waiting months in a noisome prison. It was on June 5, 1415, that Huss was called before the Council, and a second sitting was devoted to his case two days later; but it was not until July 6, the anniversary of his birth, that the final scene in the dire tragedy was enacted. In the interval the Emperor himself endeavoured to induce Huss to sign a form of abjuration of his "errors," which was drawn up by the Council. From his prison he writes to a friend at this time: "I write this letter in prison, and with my fettered hand, expecting my sentence of death to-morrow. . . . When, with the assistance of Jesus Christ, we shall meet again in the delicious peace of the future life, you will learn how merciful God has shown Himself towards me—how effectually He has supported me in the midst of my temptations and trials."

When Huss was brought before the Council for the third and last time, the accusations against

him were once more read, and he pronounced his final refusal to abjure, accompanying it by a reminder that he had come to the Council of his own free will, "confiding in the safe-conduct of the Emperor here present." He looked full at Sigismund as he spoke, and all the assembly saw upon the Emperor's face a blush which has passed into a byword. A century later, when Charles V. was urged to have Luther seized at the Diet of Worms, notwithstanding the Imperial safe-conduct which he bore, he replied, "No; I should not like to blush as did Sigismund."

But if a blush mantled the brow of the Emperor, there was none on the face of the victim of his weakness as sentence of condemnation as a heretic was passed upon him, and he was exposed to the ordeal of degradation. During this part of the ceremony there arose a dispute among the bishops as to how the mark of the tonsure should be removed, with scissors or a razor. "See," said Huss, turning to the Emperor, "they cannot agree among themselves how to insult me." The final act of degradation was to place upon the prisoner's head a paper mitre, painted all over with figures of demons. "Most joyfully," said Huss, "will I wear this crown of shame for Thy sake, O Jesus, Who for me didst wear a crown of thorns." The degradation complete, the prisoner was handed over to the secular authorities and led off, by the city sergeants of Constance, to the place outside the walls where already the stake had been erected. On the

way, we are told, he smiled as he passed a burning pile before the gates of the bishop's palace, when he was informed that it was fed by his own books. And well might he smile, for the words he wrote are living to-day, while the very names of his persecutors are all but forgotten.

Kneeling down within sight of the stake, the martyr fervently prayed, "Lord Jesus, into Thy hands I commit my spirit," and was then made fast to the post with a chain which was passed round his neck. In playful allusion to the literal meaning of his own name, he said, as the chain was secured, "It is thus that you will silence the goose, but a hundred years hence there will arise a swan whose singing you will not be able to silence." As the martyr stood with his feet on the faggots and the wood heaped up to his chin, the Marshal of the Empire implored him for the last time to save his life by renouncing his errors. "What error," asked Huss, "shall I renounce? I know myself guilty of none. I call God to witness that all that I have written and preached has been with the view of rescuing souls from sin and perdition; and, therefore, most joyfully will I confirm with my blood that truth which I have written and preached." The fire was now applied to the pile, and the martyr was singing with a loud voice, "Jesus, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me," when the wind mercifully blew the flames in his face and choked him. So anxious were the persecutors to stamp out the heresy impersonated by Huss, that even the poor clothes he had left in

his prison were thrown on to the fire, the ashes of which, together with the very soil in which the stake had been planted, were thrown into the Rhine, that no trace of Huss might be left upon earth.

The Council was not yet done with Wycliffite teaching in Bohemia, for Jerome had followed his master to Constance on hearing the news of his arrest. Finding that he could do nothing to help Huss, he endeavoured to make his way back to Bohemia, where nobles and populace alike resented the breach of Sigismund's safe-conduct that had already handed Huss over to the Council, and was hurrying him to the stake. But before he had reached Prague, Jerome was seized and carried back to Constance in fetters, reaching the city six weeks before the martyrdom of Huss, and from May until September he was kept in close confinement, efforts being constantly made to induce him to abjure the "heresies" of which he was accused. He did, indeed, yield to the extent of submitting himself to the Council, and subscribing to its condemnation of Wycliffe and Huss, saving and excepting the "holy truths" which they had taught. This qualified withdrawal only served to delay the doom which the majority of the Council was determined should fall upon Jerome. He was hurried back to his prison while fresh charges were formulated against him, and he was confronted with a list of more than a hundred accusations, the new counts having reference to the Real Presence, to indulgences, the worship of images and relics, and the authority of the priests.

On May 23, 1416, Jerome was brought before the Council again in the cathedral of Constance; and no passage in his eloquent speech of defence, which moved many of his sternest critics and most unbending judges to admiration, was more powerful or more moving than that in which he deplored his recantation and prayed God's forgiveness for the weakness which he had shown.

A week later the prisoner was once more, and for the last time, haled before the Council, this time to receive sentence of death on his final refusal to retract. In his last speech before the Council, Jerome declared that his sentence was wicked and unjust, like that which sent Huss to the stake. And in words that echoed the dying Huss's prophecy, he concluded, "In dying I shall leave a sting in your hearts, and a gnawing worm in your consciences. And I cite you all to answer to me before the Most High and Just Judge within an hundred years." As Huss had bravely given his life, so did his colleague and disciple manfully follow him on the same spot on May 30, 1416.

Two years had passed since the deposition of Pope John XXIII., before the Council proceeded to the election of his successor. On November 8, 1417, the conclave of cardinals was shut off from communication with the other members of the Council, and three days later the Roman Otho de Colonna was declared Pope under the title of Martin V. So far as the Council could achieve it, the schism was at an end, and thus one of the aims for which it had met was accomplished.

It was far otherwise with its second task of stamping out the teaching of Wycliffe and Huss.

The news of Huss's and Jerome's martyrdom was received in their own country with indignant surprise. The Council had sought to degrade Huss and his disciple; what they had succeeded in doing was to elevate them to the position of national heroes. Bohemia indignantly protested against the charge of heresy levelled at Huss. Copies of the proscribed writings of Wycliffe which had escaped seizure and burning were studied more carefully than ever before, and the very flames which were intended to consume the Reform movement gave it new and fuller life. Lollardry in England, the land of its birth, never won over more than a section of the people. In Bohemia it acquired all the force and significance of a truly national movement. From the first the great feature of the Bohemian Reform movement was the claim on the part of the laity for the cup in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and it was with the cup blazoned on their banners that the Hussites fought, when the sword was drawn.

Very early in his pontificate, Martin turned his attention to Bohemia; but it was on the death of King Wenceslaus, two years later, that the rising of the people under John Ziska, one of the Court Chamberlains, assumed a national character. The heir to the Bohemian throne was the Emperor Sigismund, especially obnoxious to the countrymen of Huss for his treachery to the martyr; and under Ziska the nation rose against its new

sovereign, and against fresh Romish interference. Armed with flails, billhooks, and clubs, the Bohemians gathered round Ziska and enabled him to stand against the forces of Emperor and Pope. At one point in his gallant defence of Prague, Ziska himself fell into the hands of the enemy, but his followers threshed their way to his rescue, and set him free to win victory after victory for his fellow Hussites.

Five successive crusades were waged against the Bohemian Protestants, who were known as "Taborites" and "Calixtines," and it was only from internal dissensions that they were finally overcome, after winning concessions to the national position at the Council of Basle in 1433. From the compromise effected at Basle some of the Hussites dissented, and they gathered for a last great fight with the forces of the Empire, with the result that they were decisively defeated at Lipau on May 31, 1434. Glorious and heroic as is the story of the Hussite Wars under Ziska and his successor, Procopius, space would fail to tell it here in detail. In the story of Protestantism the importance of the stand made in the land of Huss lies in the fact that for the first time the desire for reform dominated a national policy. The Hussites may seem to have failed—though even that is only a partial truth, as the Moravian Brethren of to-day are the lineal successors of some of the Hussites of the fifteenth century—but, at all events, they taught Europe the lesson of Protestantism as a national force.

THE RESCUE OF ZISKA.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM HUSS TO LUTHER.

The Councils of Constance and Basle—A Compromise between the Greek and the Roman Church—Fall of Constantinople and its Effects upon Europe—Savonarola—Discovery of Printing.

In pursuing the record of the noble Huss and his followers in Bohemia, we have had to wander from the high road of the story of Protestantism, and it is necessary now to hark back to the memorable Council of Constance which met in 1414 with high hopes that not only would the unity of Christendom be secured by the healing of the papal schism, but that genuine reforms would be set on foot, which would check abuses of the papal power. The Emperor Sigismund, who called the Council, was one of those who felt most keenly the disappointment evoked by the slow progress of reform after the election of Pope Martin V., in 1417. "We urged," he said bitterly, "that reform should precede the choice of a Pope; but you insisted on having the Pope first. Now, as you have a Pope, implore him to reform. Before he was chosen I had some power—now I have none."

The "reforms" instituted by the Council of Constance were half-hearted and ineffectual, and the new Pope proved much more anxious to stamp

out the heresy of the Hussites in Bohemia than to deal with questions of general policy, which might have endangered the new-found unity of the Church. The Turk was assailing Europe, too, and the Emperor, having proved his devotion to the Church by presiding at the condemnation of Huss, left the Council in session at Constance while he went on tour through Spain and to Paris and London, to enlist the Powers in a crusade against the advancing Moslem. He returned to Constance in the beginning of 1417 to find the Fathers still arguing; and it was not until April, 1418, that the Council was finally dissolved. It stands out in history as the body which deposed three Popes and elected a fourth; which condemned the dead Wycliffe and the living Huss; and which shelved really vital projects for reform by leaving it to the new Pope to call a new Council, and to make such arrangements as he could with the various nations and their rulers. There were faithful sons of the Church in the Council of Constance who were so far ready to challenge the supremacy of the Pope as to claim from him submission to the decrees of a Council. A decree to this effect was indeed passed at Constance, but the time was not ripe for the decision of this question, and all that the Council of Constance could secure was a promise from the new Pope that Councils in future should meet every five years.

In 1423, accordingly, the next Council was convened. It met at Pavia and adjourned to Siena,

but, lacking representative authority, it attempted little and did less. It was otherwise with the next Council, which met at Basle in 1431, and may be said to have marked the last serious attempt before Luther's time to reform the Church from within. It was summoned by Pope Martin V.; but before it could meet, in July, he was dead and Eugenius IV. had been elected as his successor. The president of the Council was Cardinal Cesarini, the papal legate in Germany; and early in its proceedings it adopted rules of procedure which deprived the Italian cardinals and bishops of much of their opportunity of indulging in those intrigues which had gone so far to neutralise the power of the Council of Constance. The Pope was furious; and when the Council addressed itself to its first business—the reconciliation of the Hussites—he ordered the legate to dissolve the Council, or remove it to Italy. The Council denied the right of the Pope to pronounce its dissolution, and, repeating with emphasis the decree of Constance as to the authority of a Council over a Pope, summoned Eugenius to appear before it. This step was taken on the advice of the Emperor, but the Pope's reply was to the effect that the Council was a synagogue of Satan, which he proceeded to curse, accompanying the process by a persevering issue of bulls for its dissolution. Disregarding these, the Council turned its attention to the first business before it—the state of Bohemia after the failure of Pope and Emperor in their crusades against the Hussites. Letters were

addressed to the leaders of the Bohemians inviting them to send deputies to represent them before the Council; and so great was the fear which the terrible fighting of the Hussite Wars had instilled throughout the Empire, that the whole population of Basle turned out to witness the arrival of these delegates from the people to whom rumour had ascribed "the teeth of lions and the eyes of demons."

To the honour of the leaders of the Council be it said that the reception of the Bohemian delegates in January, 1433, was in marked contrast with that accorded by the Council of Constance to their great master eighteen years earlier. For fifty days the discussion of their case was carried on between the Council and the Hussites, and it was not until a delegation from the Council had visited Prague that a compromise was reached, in November, which was accepted by the majority of the Bohemians. The great concession made to the Hussites was the permission of communion in both kinds to those who desired it. This restored the cup which the Council of Constance had taken away from the laity. On the other hand, the Bohemians assented to the stipulation that the clergy alone should have jurisdiction over the crimes of clerics, that preachers should have authority from bishops and deans, and that the Church and individual clerics might hold property, provided that it was faithfully administered. To this compromise even the Pope assented by a bull dated December 15, 1433; but his approval

was dictated rather by the desire to secure the alliance of the Emperor and the French King than by any affection for the terms of the decrees.

Having disposed of the Bohemian question, the Council addressed itself to other points, in particular to matters affecting directly the papal prerogative, and proposed to limit the number of cardinals. Further, it boldly asserted once more the supremacy of a Council over the Pope, restricted the power of granting interdicts, abolished annates or dues to the Pope on appointments to benefices, prohibited the bestowal of reversion to ecclesiastical offices, awarded punishments for immorality on the part of the clergy, and adopted decrees regulating the elections of Popes.

Again Eugenius ordered the dissolution of the Council, and summoned a new Council to meet at Ferrara. This demand the Council met by citing Eugenius to its bar, and, on his failing to appear, decreeing, in January, 1438, his suspension from his office for contumacy. Cesarini and the majority of the Italian cardinals sided with the Pope, and withdrew from Basle to take part in the rival Council at Ferrara, which Eugenius now assembled. So incensed were the Fathers at Basle at the attitude of the Pope, that they went so far as to decree his deposition, and to choose Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, Pope in his place, under the title of Felix V. Eugenius and the Council were now at open variance, and for a few years from 1439 the two parties in the

Church hurled anathemas at each other. France and Germany remained neutral on the question of the Papacy, but France, by the "Pragmatic Sanction" of Bourges in 1438, and the Empire, by a decree of the Diet of Mayence in the following year, adopted the reforming decrees of the Council.

If the Council of Basle was rendered memorable by its election of the last of the Antipopes to a doubtful dignity (which he resigned nine years later), it must not be forgotten that it gave a great impetus to the idea of national as opposed to universal arrangements for religious order. Though falling short of the assertion of the right of the individual conscience to religious freedom, for which the time was not yet ripe, this was a greater advance than could have been expected. The Fathers at Basle and the officials at Bourges and Mayence appear to have "builded better than they knew" when they taught Frenchmen and Germans—and less directly men of all nations—that the papal law was not necessarily of universal application. For the time being, indeed, the Papacy soon recovered its sway; but the Reformation was brought nearer by even a temporary acknowledgment that Rome could be made content to take less from one country than from another.

This nationalising movement was helped on by the fact that the Church and the religious orders were holders of land under feudal conditions, which served constantly to remind the ecclesiastics that they owed service to the sovereigns of the land within which they lived and worked. French

ecclesiastics were represented at the Councils of Constance and Basle as sons of the Catholic Church; but at the Synod of Bourges they assembled as members of the Gallican Church, which had from earliest times combined a recognition of the primacy of the Pope with the assertion of a large measure of national independence in religious matters. And it was as Frenchmen that they joined King Charles VII. of France in framing the famous "Pragmatic Sanction," which put into business-like form the pious opinions of the Council of Basle.

While the Council at Basle was displaying its independence of Pope Eugenius, things were not going well with the Pontiff in Rome, and he was driven from the city by the Colonnas in 1434. Nevertheless, he continued his opposition to the bishops at Basle, and summoned his new Council to meet at Ferrara. The Turk was at this time pressing upon Constantinople, and the Eastern Church and the Byzantine Emperor were eager to secure aid against the foe from Western Europe. They were no less anxious to win this help than was the Pope to bring about a reunion of the Eastern Church with Rome, coupled, of course, with a recognition of the primacy of the Pope. Eugenius seized the occasion of the crisis in Constantinople to invite the Greek Emperor and Patriarch to his new Council at Ferrara, and the Emperor John responded to the invitation by sending Joseph, Patriarch of Constantinople, and a train of bishops, priests, and nobles. When the

time for conference arrived, Joseph displayed an unexpected firmness, and refused either to kiss the foot of Eugenius or to take his seat among the cardinals and below the Pope. Eventually these and other difficulties were surmounted, and the conference proceeded at Florence, whither the Council had been removed by Eugenius.

The differences between the two Churches had been narrowed down to four points, and a compromise was reached on all. The first point concerned the procession of the Holy Spirit, and the Latins agreed with the Greeks that where the former said the Spirit proceeded "from [*ek*] the Son," and the latter said "through [*dia*] the Son," they really both meant the same thing, and both were anxious to make it clear that they repudiated the idea that the Spirit proceeded from two principles. Purgatory was the second point discussed, the Latins holding that its pains were partly material, and the Greeks that they were wholly spiritual. Both parties now agreed that souls departing this life with sins unforgiven must be purified by "purgatorial fires," but they left the nature of these fires an open question. On the third question—that of the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the celebration of the Communion—the Council proved equally accommodating, and agreed that the bread might be either leavened or unleavened, according to the custom of each Church. The fourth and last point was the really vital one, for it was that of the supremacy of the Pope; and here again the Council contrived to

reach a compromise, recognising the Pope as Sovereign Pontiff, vicar and vicegerent of Christ, shepherd and teacher of all Christians, and ruler of the Church of God, "saving the privileges and rights of the patriarchs of the East."

Potent as was the qualifying clause with which this conclusion was encumbered, it is claimed for Eugenius that—at least temporarily—he succeeded in healing the schism of six hundred years. Short-lived as the union was destined to be, its authors had no doubts as to its reality. Joseph the Patriarch had died at Florence before the end of the conference, but the Pope and the Eastern Emperor had attended in state a solemn service in the cathedral of Florence on July 6, 1439, to celebrate the reunion of Christendom, and the Greek bishops, arrayed in their splendid vestments, took part in the service. This done, the visitors set out once more for the East, bearing promises from their fellow-churchmen of help against the Turk. But at Constantinople the Emperor and his envoys met with no repetition of the congratulations which were still ringing in their ears when they left Florence. Instead, they were greeted with an indignant chorus of repudiation. The new Patriarch of Constantinople had assented to the compromise, but was compelled to abdicate in consequence; and the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria led the opposition to submission to the Pope, and there was an end to the scheme. It was not wholly owing to the failure of the Pope's ambition that little help was given to the Eastern

Emperor in his struggle against the Mohammedan forces, but this had its part in the result; and in 1453, fourteen years after the break-up of the Council of Florence, Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, and the Eastern Empire was overthrown. But even this catastrophe worked for good in the end. To escape the Turk, Greek scholars fled to Italy and Western Europe, carrying with them the salvage of the great libraries of the Byzantine city, bringing a revival of learning throughout Christendom, to the quickening of intellects, the advancement of civilisation, and the preparation of a high-road for reform.

That the "reforms" of the Council of Basle had only a temporary effect is seen from the fact that the Council itself had scarcely been finally dissolved before, by a concordat between Pope and Emperor at Vienna, the greater part of the work of the decree of Mayence was swept away, and, so far as the Germanic countries were concerned, the old system was restored. The Council, although it had revealed national aspirations for freedom from papal aggression in religious matters, had not proved strong enough to control the Pope, and its failure involved even an apparent access of power to the Papacy. Had the policy of Basle won universal acceptance, the days of the Papacy would, indeed, have been numbered. Yet if the Papacy emerged stronger for the moment from the conflict with the Council and the new forces which the Council represented, it was not stronger as a spiritual power. The Turk was knocking at

the Eastern door of Europe, and States were being hurried, in Italy and over the Continent, into new groupings. As ruler of the States of the Church, the Pope was a temporal prince, and his interests led him to form alliances with other princes; but these coalitions, however well they served their immediate purposes, were in themselves a bar to the growth or even the maintenance of spiritual supremacy. It was not possible for a king with whom on equal terms the Pope, in his character of ruler of the Papal States, had made or abrogated an alliance, afterwards to regard this same Pope exclusively as vicar of Christ and His vicegerent upon earth!

Eugenius, who had quarrelled so vigorously with the Council of Basle, died in 1447, and was succeeded by Nicholas V., who is remembered principally for the energy with which he threw himself into the revived study of the classics. He was a liberal patron of scholars, and, foreseeing the triumph of the Turks in the East, sent envoys to buy or copy the Greek and Latin manuscripts; and though he failed to rouse Christendom to a new Crusade against the advancing Crescent, he invited to Rome the refugees from Greece and Constantinople when the Eastern capital fell into the hands of the Mohammedans. If he did not found, he remodelled, the Vatican library, and gave a great impetus to the revival of learning. He and his immediate successors on the papal throne threw themselves more and more into Italian politics and into the artistic and intellectual pursuits

which held sway over the Italians of their day and recked little or nothing of the still-living movement for reform, for which no substitute could be found in devotion to art or letters.

Even Spain and Italy, countries whose allegiance to Rome could hardly be called in question, felt the movement for some relaxation of the papal control over their Churches, and Ferdinand and Isabella—under whom the hated "Holy" Inquisition was set up in Spain—wrested some limitation of the Pope's power of patronage. Savonarola's protest at Florence was not so much a reform movement in the ordinary sense, as a reaction against the paganism which had been bred in high places by the cult of the classics. He became involved in the politics of Florence and of Italy, and a charge of heresy was brought against him, but not until long after he had been excommunicated. It is significant of the position which the Pope had taken at the end of the fifteenth century that it was as politician rather than as religious reformer that the eloquent Florentine monk fell under the papal ban, and was hanged and burnt in May, 1498.

Almost simultaneous with the revival of learning was the discovery of printing. Under the influence of the quickened interest in letters, scholars passed from Italy to Germany, to France, to the Low Countries, and to far-off England. Vague longings for some reform within the Church were more or less displaced by the enthusiasm for pure learning. Universities and schools sprang

into being in response to the new spirit, books were multiplied, and the forces which made possible the great Reformation of the next century had been called into being. But the time was not yet ripe for that stupendous movement. Well has it been said that "the very age in which this activity manifested itself is conspicuous for its attachment to all the elements of popular worship and ceremonial against which the Protestant Reformers contended with the greatest zeal—the special reverence in which images and reliques were held, the devotion paid to the Blessed Virgin, the belief in current miracles—at no time was the use of indulgences more common. Reformation as yet meant nothing else than the re-establishment of Catholic piety in its fulness." * But this darkness was the darkness before the dawn, which broke in the work of Luther, to whom we must now turn.

* "Wycliffe and Movements for Reform," by Dr. R. Lane-Poole.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TRAINING OF LUTHER.

Luther's Early Years—At the University of Erfurt—From Theology and Philosophy to the Bible—Becomes a Monk—His Austerities—Ordained Priest—Relations with Staupitz—A Pilgrimage to Rome—Back at Wittenberg—Becomes Town Priest.

THE cause of Protestantism owes so much to the work of Martin Luther, that it may be well to leave for a while the story of the movement which gave us the Reformation in order to see how the great Reformer was trained for the work that God put into his hands.

It was at Eisleben, in Saxony, that, on November 10th, 1483, their first-born was given to Hans Luther and Margaret his wife, who had only recently moved thither from Möhra, the old home of the Luther family. The day was the eve of St. Martin, and the young couple gave their boy the name of Martin when he was christened in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul on the day after his birth. In after years the Reformer was in no wise ashamed of his lowly origin. "I am a peasant's son," he told Melanchthon. "My father, grandfather, all my ancestors, were thorough peasants." The rough land round Möhra was not very favourable to agriculture, and many of the peasants

turned to copper mining, among them Hans Luther, who again migrated, taking his wife and child with him to Mansfeld, when little Martin was only six months old.

That Hans prospered in his industry is clear from the fact that, only eight years after his removal to Mansfeld, his name appears in the town records as one of the magistrates, and he became leaseholder of two smelting furnaces. Cranach's portrait, painted in the days of Luther's fame, has handed down to us the lines of a shrewd if hard face, lined as with many cares. The Reformer's own remarks to Melanchthon go to prove that Hans Luther was not one who believed, as a father, in "sparing the rod." His wife vied with him in care that their children should grow up sensitive to every fault—even the least; and Luther used to tell how his mother—for whom he ever cherished a most affectionate memory—once whipped him until the blood came, for stealing a paltry nut. Hard, stern school as it was, the thrifty home at Mansfeld was an admirable training-ground for one whose life-work would demand a strong and disciplined character. Part of the schoolhouse at Mansfeld still stands, and thither young Martin was sent at a very early age to be taught reading and writing and the rudiments of Latin. Melanchthon tells us that Martin was frequently carried to school by his father, and Luther himself, only two years before his death, noted down in the Bible of a fellow-townsman of his—Emler by name—his recollection of having been more than once,

while still a weakly child, carried to or from school by Emler, who was older and stronger.

When he was fourteen, Martin was sent by his father, who was ambitious for his son, to the then famous town school of Magdeburg, which was sharing in the movement for a revival of classical learning. Both there and at Eisenach, to which he was removed after another year, young Luther had to supplement the maintenance which his father gave him by singing in the streets of the town, as did many another poor scholar in those days. More fortunate than many of his fellows, Martin won by his singing the notice of Frau Ursula Cotta, the wife of a man of consideration among the burghers of Eisenach, whose house became a second home to the lad during the four years that he spent at the school. It is said of one of the masters in the school that he was wont, every morning, on entering the classroom, to take off his biretta to the assembled boys, because God might have chosen one of the lads present to be a future mayor, or chancellor, or learned doctor. In after years Luther used to speak with warm praise of the teaching of the school at Eisenach, where he acquired that thorough mastery of Latin which was then the chief preparation for a university course. As with most men who have achieved greatness, Luther's childhood and youth were passed in God's training-school of hardship. Luxury might have developed a smooth-tongued dependant on the Court; the intellect that was to shake Courts and change the thought

of half the world must learn self-reliance at every step. Naturally of a quick and active mind, the young Luther would be spurred by his father's precepts, and by his home surroundings, to make the best use of the education which, there is no reason to doubt, his father only gave him by dint of no small sacrifice.

In 1501, when he was eighteen, Luther was entered as a student at the University of Erfurt, which had already had a hundred years of useful, prosperous existence when Martin entered it. "My dear father maintained me there," he himself said in after years, "with loyal affection, and by his labour and the sweat of his brow enabled me to go there." The scholastic philosophy still reigned in the German universities when Luther's student days began, and it was to this that the undergraduate applied himself, under the direction of Jodocus Trutvetter, the professor of philosophy. The New Learning was making headway at Erfurt; but for Luther the niceties of fence and dialectic skill, which came of the scholastic exercises, had more attractions than the over-refinements of style and text which were the distinguishing mark of too many of the new Humanists.

In his second year at Erfurt, 1502, Luther proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy. Among his companions he was known as "the young philosopher," although he found comrades among the "poets," as the more ardent of the young disciples of the New Learning loved to call themselves. For him the charm of Greek and Latin

authors lay in the spirit rather than in the letter. From his childhood he had been assiduous in his religious observances, and his father's house at Mansfeld would seem to have been pervaded by an atmosphere of piety, even to the verge of austerity. It is notable that in after years, when every event of Luther's past life was canvassed by his enemies, no word of reproach was heard as to his student days. When he entered the university his bent was towards theology, but that study was set aside for a time in favour of philosophy, in which he had graduated as Master—or, as we should say now, Doctor—in the beginning of 1505. Melanchthon tells us, on the authority of several of Martin's fellow-students, that at this point Luther's genius was the admiration of the whole university; and referring to the honours then paid him Luther himself said: "What a moment of majesty and splendour was that when one took the degree of Master, and torches were carried before and honour was paid one! I consider that no temporal or worldly joy can equal it."

Young Luther, now in his twenty-second year, had come through his student course with honour, and had won the goodwill of his fellows by his skill in music and his cultivation of literature. His father and other friends were anxious that he should apply himself to law as the readiest means of turning his talents to account, and he began to attend lectures on this subject. But already, even before he took the degree of Master of Philosophy, there had come into his life a new

influence which was destined completely to redirect it.

One of the earliest uses to which printing was put in Germany was the reproduction of Jerome's Latin version of the Bible, and some copies of this had found their way into the library at Erfurt. From his father Luther had inherited a keen taste for reading, and while he was still in his baccalaureate he used to frequent the library, taking down the volumes at random and dipping into one after another. One day he chanced upon the Bible, and, opening it at the story of Hannah and the infant Samuel, murmured: "Oh, God! could I have one of these books I would ask no other earthly treasure!" The Book was a revelation to the young student, who hitherto had known no more of its contents than what was comprised in the selections which formed part of the Roman missal. Although he knew it not at the time, the whole story of his life was changed by his happening on the Bible in the library at Erfurt. Even more: as it was from the Bible in Wycliffe's hands at Oxford that there came the first dawn of the Reformation, so its morning broke when Luther turned the sacred page at Erfurt.

As his scholastic studies allowed him leisure, Luther turned again and again to the Bible, steeping his mind in its lore, and growing, as he afterwards said, less and less satisfied with the religious system in which he had been nurtured. At times his mind was vexed by troubles as to the

forgiveness of his sins. Errant thoughts came to him as temptations, all the more subtle because of his acutely sensitive mind, which saw degrees and distinctions of guilt in acts which a conscience less alert and tender would have glossed over at once. Tradition has it that, falling ill at this period, he sent for an aged priest to come and hear his confession as he lay at what he thought was the point of death; but the old man, possibly with some foresight of a successful career before so brilliant a student, bade him be of good cheer. "Take courage," he said. "God will yet make you the means of comfort to many others." And thus, to the end of his career as a student, Luther remained outwardly a faithful and even devoted son of the Roman Church. But the Bible had entered into his heart; its message was already working there, and, as we shall see, to mighty purpose. No doubt at this stage Luther's friends were hoping to see him develop into a successful lawyer or learned judge, but God had other work for him to do. Nothing of his skill in dialectics, none of his power of subtle reasoning, not one jot of the varied learning with which his mind was being stored, would be wasted. All would be turned to good account; but for the present the young student was being "led by a way that he knew not."

One day he learned that a young friend and fellow student had been stricken down—some say, in a duel; some, by an assassin—and the sudden death of his friend turned his thoughts once more

towards the life beyond the grave. Soon afterwards, he paid a visit to his parents at Mansfeld, and, in returning to Erfurt, was overtaken at the village of Stotternheim, on July 2nd, 1505, by a terrific thunderstorm. As one particularly blinding flash darted before his eyes he fell on his knees, praying: "Help, Anna, beloved saint! I will be a monk." He reached the university town in safety, and for a few days ignored his vow; but his was too tender a conscience to permit evasion. To his mind God had spoken in the lightning flash, calling him to show his gratitude by the dedication of his life and powers to religion. He gathered his friends round that he might bid them farewell, and would listen to none of their remonstrances. "To-day you see me, and never again," he said. Then he passed through the gates of the Augustinian convent at Erfurt on July 17th, 1505, taking with him nothing but his Plautus and his Virgil. True to his own convictions and to the teaching of the Roman Church, that his father's possible objections could not be pleaded against the fulfilment of his vow, he did not even tell his father of the step he had taken until his novitiate had begun. To quote his own words in later years, "I never thought to leave the convent again. I was entirely dead to the world until God thought that the time had come."

"How I astonished everybody when I turned monk!" was the Reformer's comment to Melanchthon; and no one was more surprised and disappointed than Hans Luther, for he had hoped

great things for his clever son, whose success at the university had gladdened the sturdy miner's heart. And now this son, whose talent had been the admiration of the whole university, seemed to have brought his brilliant career to an end when he entered the convent gate. Hans would not be comforted, and wrote Martin a letter of reproach. "renouncing all further affection" for him. But just about this time the plague desolated Saxony, and Hans Luther, having lost two of his children in the epidemic, allowed himself to be persuaded that it was his duty to give up his first-born to serve God in the cloister.

Very different was the life which Martin had now to lead. Through the very streets along which the young doctor had been carried in triumphant procession by his fellow-students, he had now to tramp with a wallet, begging alms for the sustenance of the monks. He whose delight had been in the subtleties of the schools was set to the most menial work in the monastery, until the university, resenting the slight which it imagined was being put upon its distinguished graduate, interceded on his behalf, and secured him some relaxation of the severity. But Luther himself, confident that only by submission would he win the favour of God, made no complaint, and, when his work as a Reformer had begun, looked back upon the superintendent of his novitiate as a fine old man, and "a true Christian under that execrable cowl."

Just about the time of Luther's novitiate a

new code of statutes had been introduced into the Augustinian monasteries by Staupitz, the vicar-general of the order in Germany, and this code enjoined upon the brethren not only devout and punctual recitation of the "Hours" and other religious exercises, but a zealous study of Holy Writ. To a man with Luther's acute and well-trained mind, the life of a solitary was crowded with temptations of the most subtle order. Honestly striving after holiness in order that he might win God's grace, he almost conjured up sins for which he could crave forgiveness. He was still far from a full appreciation of the truth, but even in his studies as a novice he saw some gleams of its light. He carried his reading of the Bible and of the writings of the Fathers of the Church—notably those of St. Augustine, the founder of his order—far into the night, and he added to his other studies those of Hebrew and Greek, in order that he might read the Scriptures in their original tongues.

Hard and strenuous indeed was his life at this time. Referring to it in later years, he says: "If Augustine went straight to heaven from the walls of an abbey, I too ought to do so. All my brothers would give me this testimony. I fasted, I watched, I mortified, I practised all the cenobite severities, till I absolutely made myself ill." So severely did these exercises tell upon the young monk, that he would sometimes fall upon the floor of his cell in sheer weakness. "One morning," we are told, "the door of his cell not being opened as

usual, the brethren became alarmed. They knocked —there was no reply. The door was burst in, and poor Fra Martin was found stretched on the ground in a state of ecstasy, scarcely breathing, well-nigh dead. A monk took his flute, and, gently playing upon it one of the airs that Luther loved, brought him gradually back to himself."

Hans von Staupitz, the vicar-general of the German Augustinians, proved singularly helpful to Luther, and to him the young monk opened his heart most freely, telling him of his manifold temptations and of his dread as he contrasted his own vileness with the holiness of God. Deeply read in scholastic theology, Dr. Staupitz was a diligent student of St. Augustine, and also of the Scriptures; and he urged the young novice, worn by melancholy and doubt, to apply himself with redoubled ardour to the study of Holy Writ. Above all, Staupitz taught him that for peace to his soul he must look not to his own resolutions or acts, but to God's mercy and the sacrifice of a loving Saviour. The work of preparation was going steadily on in the cloisters at Erfurt; but as yet Luther saw no manner of reason to break with the religious system under which he had been nurtured. He was ordained priest on May 2nd, 1507, and for the first time since he had entered the convent he saw his father, who was present at the ceremony of ordination, and took part in the feast that followed it. Hans, although he brought his son a present of money, displayed little or no satisfaction at the step

which had just been taken. Martin himself asked his father why he should regret his assuming the monk's robe, and the sturdy miner, still of the opinion which he held when his son entered the convent, gave his answer in the form of a question addressed to the company at large: "Learned brothers, have you not read in Holy Writ that a man must honour his father and mother?" He was reminded that his son had been led to this life by a call from heaven. "Would to God," he answered, "it were no spirit of the devil!"

In after years Luther wrote, "When I said my first mass at Erfurt I was well-nigh dead, for I had no faith. My only notion about myself was that I was a very worthy person indeed." In the ceremony of ordination the bishop, putting the chalice into the monk's hands, accompanied the action with the words: "Receive thou the power of sacrificing for the quick and the dead." It was not until after long years that Luther saw the awful character of this injunction, and then he wrote: "If the earth did not open and swallow us both up it was only owing to the great patience and longsuffering of the Lord."

As yet, however, if he had doubts, they were of his personal salvation, and not of the validity of his ministry or of the propriety of his position. Again and again we find him taking counsel of Staupitz, who seems to have had a sincere affection for his much-tried disciple, and to have seen that Luther's keen intellect and brilliant powers might well be used in the service of the Order of which

he was now a member. It must be remembered that Luther had taken with him, when he entered the convent, the record of a brilliant university career; and Staupitz now saw an opportunity of turning the academic distinction of the young priest to good account. The Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, had just founded the University of Wittenberg, and, little dreaming of the meaning which was afterwards to be read into the phrase, expressed his intention in his charter to make it the light of heaven. Staupitz was first dean of the theological faculty, and Luther's old Erfurt tutor, Trutvetter, was professor of philosophy. Staupitz, being asked by the Elector to recommend teachers for the new university, suggested that Luther should be appointed a lecturer in philosophy —in the winter of 1508, when the young priest was only twenty-five—and, obedient to the call of his superior, he entered upon his new duties. Theology he might not yet teach, for he had only graduated at Erfurt in philosophy; but he at once entered upon the course prescribed for students in theology, and graduated bachelor in 1509.

He was soon to receive a further proof of the regard in which Staupitz held him, for he was chosen to accompany another brother of the Augustinian Order to Rome, to lay before the Pope the view held by the German convents upon some point which was then—about 1510—disturbing the peace of the Order. The journey to the Eternal City had then to be made on foot, and may well have occupied weeks. From monastery to monas-

tery they travelled, marvelling, as they came to each new resting-place after crossing the Alps, at the luxury and magnificence of the Italian convents. It is said that at one of the marble palaces —for such the Italian convents seemed to the unsophisticated Germans—Luther was horrified to find that they were to be regaled with the same abundance of flesh and rich food on Friday as on other days, and ventured to protest against this breach of the Church's law. "On this day," he said, "such things may not be eaten. The Pope has forbidden them." So incensed were the Italians by this rebuke that the porter of the convent warned Luther to make his escape before their resentment found vent in violence, and the Germans took their leave, with as little delay as possible, of the monastery and all in it.

It must be remembered that at this point in his career the Church of Rome had no more faithful son than Luther. He set out for Italy, and, above all, for Rome, with something of the enthusiasm of a pilgrim devotee. But instead of finding a purer faith and a stricter observance of the laws of the Church as he drew nearer to the seat of the papal throne, he observed at each stopping-place after he entered Italy fresh evidences of the laxity and ostentatious luxury of the ecclesiastics. Then the unwonted heat told upon him, and bodily sickness was added to his depression of soul. He was ill when he reached Pavia, but he passed on to Bologna, where he was compelled to take to his bed. For some days he thought

his end was near, and in that city, famous as "the throne of the Roman law," it was but natural that his thought should be turned to the judgment seat of God. Already at Wittenberg he had been struck by St. Paul's words, "The just shall live by faith," and now they returned to him again and again in his weakness. They came to him as a message of hope and health, and in his new strength he once more resumed his journey. The fresh breezes of the Apennines did for his body what the Apostle's words had done for his soul; he hurried through Florence—which fourteen years before had seen the martyrdom of Savonarola—and at last entered Rome, the Mother of Nations, the Metropolis of Western Christendom.

He proceeded to the convent of his Order, which stood near the Porto del Popolo, and so great was his fervour that he tells us: "On arriving I fell on my knees, raised my hands to heaven, and exclaimed: 'Hail, Holy Rome! made holy by the holy martyrs, and by the blood which has been spilt here!'" This was the spirit of the devotee, pardonable, if anywhere, in Rome; but Luther was not long there before he found that such faith as his was exceptional in the city of the Popes. The papal chair was now filled by Julius II., who was more ambitious as a warlike prince, and as a patron of the arts, than as a ruler of the Church. As was the Pope, so were his cardinals and chief dignitaries—soldiers, politicians, art patrons, anything and everything but devout ministers of God. Even in the ser-

vice of the mass the priests in Rome used to juggle with words when consecrating the Host, and would mumble over the bread the mocking words, "Bread thou art, and bread thou wilt continue." Luther ran, as he expressed it himself in after years, like a crazy saint from pilgrimage to pilgrimage; but he found no comfort in the exercises to which he had looked forward with such longing. He had been taught that a peculiar virtue attached to religious observances on the sacred sites of Rome, and to win merit for himself and those dear to him he made the round of all the "holy places"; but even as he climbed the *scala sancta* —the staircase which tradition says once led from Pilate's hall of judgment, and which the faithful ascended on their knees and in prayer—Luther again seemed to hear the Apostle's words, "The just shall live by faith."

What was the upshot of Luther's journey to Rome, so far as its immediate purpose was concerned, we do not know, but the effect of his visit on his mind was lasting. "I would not for a hundred thousand florins have missed seeing Rome," he said in later years, and thrice repeated the words. "I should always have felt an uneasy doubt whether I was not, after all, doing injustice to the Pope. As it is, I am quite satisfied on the point." But as yet the young monk had no clearly defined doubts, and he saw with interest the preparations for the very work that was to be carried on by the proceeds of the sale of those indulgences which were in after years to

bring him into conflict with the Pope and Papacy. Already, though Luther knew it not, the seed was planted in his heart, but the time for its fruitage was not yet come.

Luther returned to Wittenberg, to all outward seeming as eager to serve the cause of Rome in Germany as he had been ready to plead the cause of the German brethren in Rome. That Dr. Staupitz saw no reason to doubt his fidelity is clear from the fact that, shortly after Luther's resumption of his place in the convent, he was elected sub-prior, and was encouraged to proceed to the higher degrees in theology, which would qualify him to teach divinity in the university. At the time it was Luther's own wish to withdraw from official connection with the university, and devote himself entirely to the work of the Augustinian Order; but in this he was overruled by his superior, Dr. Staupitz, and, it is said, by the Elector Frederick, who offered to defray the expenses of his theological degrees. So in due course Luther was admitted to the rights of a licentiate in theology on October 4th, 1512, and to the doctorate a fortnight later. His own unconsciousness of any modification of his views towards the Papacy is shown by the fact that, on admission to the doctorate, he took an oath binding himself to abstain from doctrines condemned by the Church and offensive to pious ears.

His first lectures in the theological school were on the Psalms, and although they displayed a greater regard for the scholastic traditions than

Luther's later teaching, they at once attracted attention. When he had been restricted to philosophy as the subject of his university lectures, he had written to a friend, "Thank God I am well, but should be much better if I were not compelled to profess this philosophy." His pet aversion was the philosophy of Aristotle, and all his hopes were centred in theology, "that mistress of the world, that queen of the arts," as he called it. Now his dearest wish had been gratified, and he was free to lecture in his best-loved subject. He based his lectures upon a close and fervent study of the Bible, at that period almost the least used of text-books by the teachers of the scholastic theology, among whom the Fathers were apt to be held in higher regard than the Apostles, and the philosophers than the prophets. This alone would have served to make his lectures notable; and eminent doctors would, we are told, come to hear the new teacher, and withdraw full of admiration. The venerable Pollich, one of the first professors in the University of Wittenberg, was among these, and said, with wonderful prevision, not long before his death: "This monk has profound insight and exceeding imagination; he will trouble the doctors before he has done, and excite no slight disturbance."

About the same time that Luther began to teach theology, he also entered upon his career as a public preacher, which was probably of even greater effect upon his life-work, for it compelled him to crystallise his own thoughts, and to clothe

in popular language ideas which might have been enforced by merely scholastic references had they been addressed only to his hearers in the class-rooms. As a monk he had already had some experience of preaching, for in his "Table-talk" he is reported as saying, "O! how I trembled when I ascended the pulpit for the first time! I would fain have excused myself; but they made me preach. It was the regulation that the junior brethren should preach to the rest."

The Augustinian convent at Wittenberg was new, and it was in a small, tumbledown, temporary building that Luther began to preach in public in the town from which his words were to travel over the whole world. However reluctant he may have been to preach at first, he soon did so with great acceptance; and when the town preacher of Wittenberg failed in health, Luther was pressed to take up the task of filling his place. He seems to have hesitated whether he should yield to the solicitations of his townsfolk or not; and, as he himself tells us, he discussed the matter with his superior, Dr. Staupitz. "Here," he says, "under this very pear tree, I have over and over again argued with Dr. Staupitz as to whether it was my vocation to preach. He said it was. I had fifteen reasons against it, and fifteen more when they were done. 'Doctor,' I used to say, 'you want to kill me. I shall not live three months if you compel me to go on.' 'Our Lord,' the Doctor would reply, 'requires the aid of able men; He needs your services, and must have them.'"

. So Luther became town priest of Wittenberg, and, having once entered upon his duties, discharged them with all the zeal at his command. For weeks together he would preach daily, sometimes two or three times each day, and this without interrupting his university lectures. Both in the pulpit and in the class-room he proceeded gradually to unfold the result of his profound study of the Bible, and particularly of the Epistles of St. Paul, which was leading him daily to greater assurance that the theology of his day was based upon a false reading of truth. He saw that man of his own acts could never atone for sins and win the favour of God, and he was led irresistibly to the preaching of justification by faith, to which, as we have seen, he had already been directed by the Apostle's words, "The just shall live by faith."

Melanchthon well says of Luther's first lectures on the Psalms and the Epistle to the Romans that in them, after a long and dark night, a new day is seen to dawn on Christian doctrine. So far were Luther and his associates at this time from thinking of any unorthodoxy in his teaching that it was known, when it came to be discussed in other seats of learning, as the "Augustinian theology"; and Luther himself, in 1515, three years after his becoming Doctor, was chosen provincial vicar of the Order for Meissen and Thuringia. This gave him the oversight of eleven convents, to which, in the next year, he paid the customary visitation, correcting abuses, checking disorders,

and gaining a wider knowledge of the monastic life, one outcome of which experience was his comment, "The Bible is a book which is rarely found in the hands of the monks, who know St. Thomas much better than they know St. Paul."

He was much influenced by the sermons of the German mystic, Tauler, who died in 1361. His spiritual fervour and depth of contemplation won the admiration of the young teacher, whose first published work, issued in 1516, was a tract, to which he gave the name of "German Theology," based upon one written not long after Tauler's day. During the following year Luther published a work on the seven penitential Psalms. Unlike most theological treatises of the time, which were in Latin, his was written in German, and intended for general reading; and we see Luther gradually, perhaps unconsciously, coming to the belief that his appeal must be not to theologians and ecclesiastics alone, but to all Christians. His addresses to his town congregation began to display the simple, powerful eloquence which raised him, as his biographer Köstlin says, above all preachers of that age.

Crowded congregations and busy class-rooms testified to Luther's growing fame and influence, which were not lessened by the favour shown him by the Elector Frederick, whose Court preacher and private secretary, George Spalatin, had been a fellow-student of Luther's at Erfurt and Wittenberg. Through Spalatin, also, Luther kept in touch with the Humanists, and we find him

in correspondence with his friend in 1516, when Erasmus published his version of the Greek New Testament.

To the generally received views of Church polity Luther had, at this period, no idea of offering opposition. He was preaching anew St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, and revealing what to his generation was a new plan of salvation ; but as yet he had no word to say against the confessional, the mass, or indulgences. He could still defend the invocation of saints and of the Virgin Mary, and to him the Hussites of Bohemia were still "sinful heretics." But on all these and on many other points he was soon to change his mind, as fuller light broke upon his soul. Six or seven years had now passed since his visit to Rome, but the years had not been wasted, although little seemed to have resulted from the impressions then made upon his mind. The young monk, who had been shocked by the luxury of Italian monks and the levity of Italian priests, had himself been advanced in the Order of St. Augustine, and was therefore the less inclined lightly to attack the system of which it formed a part. He had also made many influential friends, and won the regard of his townsmen and of hosts of students, which greatly strengthened his position when conscience led him to take the step which marked not only the crisis of his own life, but a turning point in the history of the Church of Christ, and the new birth of Protestantism.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFORMATION LAUNCHED.

The Rebuilding of St. Peter's and the Sale of Indulgences—Tetzel: the Man and his Methods—Luther Declares War against Indulgences—His Ninety-five Theses.

When Luther visited Rome, the work of rebuilding St. Peter's had already begun, and the young monk must have seen and been interested in the steps which were being taken by the Pope to replace the ruined mother church of Christendom (as it was accounted) by a nobler edifice. But the young German had no thought at that time of the effect which the enterprise of which he then saw the beginnings was to have upon his own life and work.

Julius II. was Pope when Luther visited Rome, but in 1513, a year after Luther became Doctor, Julius died, and was succeeded as Pontiff by the famous Florentine Giovanni de' Medici, who had already been a cardinal for twenty-four years when he assumed the tiara at the age of thirty-seven, under the title of Leo X. The new Pope found in the rebuilding of St. Peter's a task peculiarly congenial to one who like himself was an enthusiastic patron of the arts; and he threw himself heartily into it, resolved that the church should have the best of the arts of

painting, architecture, and sculpture that the world could furnish.

So vast were Leo's schemes for the rebuilding of Rome that they quickly drained his treasury; and the Pope, like his predecessors in former years when money was wanted for the Crusades, had recourse to the sale of indulgences. Now the sale of indulgences was no innovation on the part of Leo, and his advisers may well have been surprised that a policy which had practically gone without protest since Wycliffe's stand against it, more than a hundred years before, should now awaken opposition. In the sacrament of penance, through the confessional, and the absolution of sins, the Church claimed the power of pronouncing the forgiveness of sins which had been confessed, on the performance of certain acts of penance laid upon the offender by his father-confessor. An indulgence absolved its purchaser even from the performance of these penances, in return for a specified payment of money. And those who were responsible for pushing the sales of indulgences went so far as to claim for them that they availed not only to excuse the living from the pains of future purgatory, but even to shorten or terminate those pains for the departed friends and relatives of their buyers.

St. Peter's was the metropolitan church of Christendom, so the whole of Christendom was given the opportunity of joining in the task of rebuilding it. The sale of the indulgences was farmed out in the various countries of Europe, and

the commissioner for Germany was the Archbishop Albert, of Mayence and Magdeburg—in which latter diocese was Wittenberg. The Archbishop was, like the Pope, ambitious to figure as a patron of the arts and of letters, and kept a court which outran his revenues. He had had to borrow a large sum from bankers at Augsburg to pay the Pope for his pallium ; and when the commission for the sale of indulgences was offered him he struck a bargain with Rome, under which he was allowed to retain half the proceeds of the sales in Germany. And to see that this arrangement was carried out, the representatives of the bankers perambulated the country side by side with the ecclesiastical sub-commissioners, who dispensed retail the pardons which were issued wholesale from Mayence on behalf of Rome.

Of these sub-commissioners the most prominent and not the least blasphemous was John Tetzel, a Dominican monk who seems to have combined the voice of a town-crier with the unscrupulous blandishments of a cheap-jack. From town to town through Germany Tetzel proceeded with his retinue. At the head of the procession, the Pope's bull issuing the indulgences was carried in a casket on a velvet cushion. The Dominican bore a great red cross from which were suspended the arms of Leo X., and behind him were driven the mules which carried the bales of pardons, not to be given to those who had penitence in the heart, but to be sold to those who had money to be paid into the chests, which also had their place in the pro-

cession. Of the keys of these chests, one was in the hands of Tetzel, a second was kept by the representative of the bankers who held a lien on the proceeds, and a third was entrusted to the civil authorities. From time to time the chests were opened in the presence of a notary, and their contents counted and registered.

Before this, as we have seen, the German Governments had grown restive under the avaricious demands upon the faithful from Rome, and had resented the alienation of so large a proportion of the wealth of their countries. The decree of Mayence, although it was afterwards abrogated by the Emperor, had recorded this feeling. And it was possibly due as much to the survival of this sentiment as to dislike for the monk Tetzel, whose personal character was notoriously bad, that the Elector Frederick forbade Tetzel to carry on his trade in indulgences within the territory over which he ruled. Thus it came about that Wittenberg was not visited by the vendor of indulgences, who had to be content with crying his wares at Jüterbok, just across the Elector's border.

Here, we may suppose, he commended his indulgences as he had done elsewhere, by the methods which had made him notorious. As his cavalcade drew near to city, town, or village, a procession of the inhabitants was formed to meet it, headed by the local priests, monks, and magistrates. To the burghers Tetzel proclaimed that "the Grace of God and of the Holy Father" was at their gates, and the tall red cross was borne,

amid the enthusiastic shouts of a welcoming populace, to the cathedral or church, where it was set up before the altar, with the chest in which were placed the moneys paid for the indulgences. Every day, while the red cross stood as a sign that grace might yet be bought, there were processions, hymns, and sermons to attract the public to take advantage of the offer.

The rank and almost incredible blasphemies which have come down to us as extracts from Tetzel's sermons show the Dominican to have been a fitting agent for his nefarious trade. "Indulgences," he urged, "are the most precious and most noble of God's gifts. Come," he shouted, "and I will give you letters all properly sealed, by which even the sins which you intend to commit may be pardoned." He had a graduated tariff for his indulgences, the prices mounting with the enormity of the offence, and with the ascertained ability of the offender to pay! Not content with selling pardons for the sins of the living, Tetzel proclaimed, as Pope Boniface VIII. had done two centuries earlier, that an indulgence could be secured by the living for the benefit of the dead. Purgatory was an article of faith with the people who formed Tetzel's audiences, and it is easy to picture the natural effect of his words when he addressed them: "Priest, noble, merchant, wife, youth, maiden, do you not hear your parents and your other friends who are dead, and who cry from the bottom of the abyss, 'We are suffering horrible torments! A trifling alms would deliver

us; you can give it, and you will not'? At the very instant that the money rattles at the bottom of the chest the soul escapes from purgatory, and flies ransomed to heaven."

All round the churches were set up confessional boxes, and from the confession of his sins the now shriven penitent hurried to the tables behind which Tetzel and his agents took their places after his sermon had done its work, to sell for silver and gold the free mercies of God. It is worth while reproducing a translation of one of Tetzel's "indulgences." The form in which the pardon was given was that of a letter of absolution. These letters ran in the following terms:—

May our Lord Jesus Christ have pity on thee, N.N., and absolve thee by the merits of His most holy passion. And I, by virtue of the apostolic power which has been confided to me, do absolve thee from all ecclesiastical censures, judgments, and penalties which thou mayest have merited, and from all excesses, sins, and crimes which thou mayest have committed, however great or enormous they may be, and for whatsoever cause, even though they had been reserved to our most Holy Father the Pope and the Apostolic See. I efface all attainders of unfitness and all marks of infamy thou mayest have drawn on thee on this occasion; I remit the punishment thou shouldest have had to endure in purgatory; I make thee anew a participator in the Sacraments of the Church; I incorporate thee afresh in the communion of the saints; and I reinstate thee in the innocence and purity in which thou wast at the hour of thy baptism; so that, at the hour of thy death, the gate

through which is the entrance to the place of torments and punishments shall be closed against thee, and that which leads to the Paradise of joy shall be open. And shouldest thou be spared long, this grace shall remain immutable to the time of thy last end. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Brother John Tetzel, Commissioner, has signed it with his own hand.*

This preaching and sale of indulgences, especially when pushed by such unworthy and unscrupulous agents as Tetzel, who had already been convicted of a gross offence, and who was afterwards found to have been guilty of embezzling the proceeds of these very sales of indulgences, inevitably revolted the finer minds, even in that age of universal and practically unquestioning belief in the Roman system, and of devotion to the Church's ordinances. This revolt needed a leader and a spokesman, and he was found in the person of Martin Luther, who was already preaching that "justification by faith" which made indulgences unavailing.

The Elector Frederick, as we have seen, had forbidden Tetzel to carry on his traffic in indulgences in Saxony, but he had no power to prevent the approach of the red cross to his frontier. The townsfolk of Wittenberg and other cities heard of the stir which was created by Tetzel's arrival at Jüterbok in the Duchy of Brandenburg, and some, at least, were attracted by the loud-voiced

* D'Aubigné's "History of the Reformation."

pedlar of pardons. As town priest of Wittenberg, Luther found some of Tetzel's indulgences pleaded in the confessional, and this seems to have acted as God's call to him to awake to a sense of his responsibility. In the previous year he had preached against indulgences, but the evil was now at work amongst his own people, and at his very door. To the citizens who had pleaded Tetzel's indulgences as sufficient expiation of the sins which they admitted in the confessional, Luther refused absolution ; and when the pardon-monger was told of this by his deluded victims, his rage against the young doctor knew no bounds. He even went so far as to kindle a fire in Jüterbok market-place, as a hint of the fate which lay in store for the man who should obstruct his holy work.

But no symbolic fire across the frontier could silence Luther. The sale of indulgences he condemned again from his place in the university, and he preached against it from his pulpit in the town. His next step was to write a letter of respectful protest to the Archbishop Albert of Mayence and Magdeburg, his own diocesan, although he knew that Tetzel was acting under the Archbishop's commission. Let us quote a few sentences from this letter. "The righteous scarcely shall be saved," he writes, "so narrow is the way which leads to life. Those who are saved are called in the Scripture brands saved from the burning ; everywhere the Lord reminds us of the difficulty of salvation. How, then, dare these

men seek to render poor souls fatally confident of salvation, on the mere strength of purchased indulgences and futile promises ? "

To this letter no reply was sent, and, indeed, Luther could hardly have expected any sympathetic response from that quarter. Appended to the letter was a series of propositions, demonstrating " the vanity of indulgences, which the preachers thereof call all powerful."

In the castle church of Wittenberg the Elector had gathered, at an immense cost, a vast treasure of relics, and this treasure was to be exhibited to the Elector's subjects on All Saints' Day (November 1st), 1517. Preaching on the eve of the festival, Luther read to the crowded congregation the protest against indulgences which he had already sent to the Archbishop ; and when the service was over, he passed through the crowd to the outer pillars of the gate of the church, and there—on October 31st, 1517—he nailed his " Ninety-five Theses " to the gate.

The document was headed :—

> From a desire to elicit the truth, the following theses will be maintained at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the reverend father Martin Luther, of the Order of the Augustins, master of arts, master and lecturer in theology, who asks that such as are not able to dispute verbally with him will do so in writing. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Space will permit of the quotation of only a few of the propositions which followed, and the

selection is made of those which express the spirit and scope of the whole :—

V. The Pope is unable and desires not to remit any other penalty than that which he has imposed of his own good pleasure, or conformably to the canons —that is, to the papal ordinances.

VI. The Pope cannot remit any condemnation, but can only declare and confirm the remission that God himself has given, except only in cases that belong to him. If he does otherwise, the condemnation continues the same.

VIII. The laws of ecclesiastical penance can only be imposed on the living, and in no wise respect the dead.

XXI. The commissaries of indulgences are in error when they say that by the papal indulgence a man is delivered from every punishment and is saved.

XXV. The same power that the Pope has over purgatory in the Church at large, is possessed by every bishop and every curate in his own particular diocese and parish.

XXXII. Those who fancy themselves sure of salvation by indulgences will go to perdition along with those who teach them so.

XXXVII. Every true Christian, dead or living, is a partaker of all the blessings of Christ, or of the Church, by the gift of God, and without any letter of indulgence.

XXXVIII. Yet we must not despise the Pope's distributive and pardoning power, for his pardon is a declaration of God's pardon.

XLIX. We should teach Christians that the Pope's indulgence is good if we put no confidence

in it, but that nothing is more hurtful if it diminishes our piety.

L. We should teach Christians that if the Pope knew of the extortions of the preachers of indulgences, he would rather the mother church of St. Peter were burned and reduced to ashes than see it built up with the skin, the flesh, and the bones of his flock.

LI. We should teach Christians that the Pope (as it is his duty) would distribute his own money to the poor, whom the indulgence-sellers are now stripping of their last farthing, even were he compelled to sell the mother church of St. Peter.

LII. To hope to be saved by indulgences is a lying and an empty hope, although even the commissary of indulgences—nay, further, the Pope himself—should pledge their souls to guarantee it.

LIII. They are the enemies of the Pope and of Jesus Christ who, by reason of the preaching of indulgences, forbid the preaching of the word of God.

LXII. The true and precious treasure of the Church is the holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

LXXVI. The papal pardons cannot remit even the least of venial sins as regards the guilt.

Luther wrote his Theses and affixed them to the gate of the castle church at Wittenberg in the full belief that he was rendering a service to the Church, of which at that time he had every wish to continue a faithful son. He was attacking one abuse, pointing out what he conceived to be one blot on the Church's fair escutcheon. But he was soon to learn the truth of Dr. Staupitz's words, when he first proposed to write against indulgences: "What! Would you write against

the Pope? They will not permit you to do this." "But suppose they must needs permit it?" replied Luther.

Little as he knew it at the time, in writing against indulgences Luther had indeed written against the Pope, and as he nailed his Theses to the church gate at Wittenberg he launched the Reformation.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OPPOSITION TO LUTHER.

Tetzel Burns the Theses—Luther Accused of Heresy—Publishes his "Resolutions"—His Movement Religious in Origin—Arrival of Melanchthon at Wittenberg—Luther Appears before Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg and Refuses to Retract—His Escape from Augsburg—Papal Declaration in Favour of Indulgences—Disputation at Leipzig—Luther's Appeal to Germany—Burns a Papal Bull—A Summons to the Imperial Diet.

LUTHER was far from wishing to set himself in opposition to the Pope and the Church, when he nailed his Theses to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. "When I put this resolution into practice," he said in later years, "instead of being abused and condemned, as I have been, by these worthless tyrants and impostors, the Pope and his mercenaries, I expected to be warmly encouraged and commended." But he was soon to realise that such encouragement and commendation as he received were not to come from his ecclesiastical superiors.

Wittenberg was crowded at the time with zealous Germans who had come to witness the exhibition of relics in the castle church; and those who had heard Luther read his challenging Theses from the pulpit, or seen them nailed to the door of the church, hastened to secure copies

as they were struck off from the press after being translated into German. In a fortnight the Theses had reached every part of Germany; in a month they had travelled to the remotest bounds of Europe.

From Jüterbok Tetzel had proceeded with his red cross, his bales of pardons, and his chests, to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and a copy of Luther's Theses followed him there. As he read them his rage was unbounded, for he saw at a glance the mischief which Luther had done, not only to him but to his master the Pope. Kindling a fire, he publicly burned the Theses, thus repeating the hint he had previously given in his futile fire at Jüterbok, of his view of the fate that awaited the man who had dared to protest against the mission upon which he was engaged. With true instinct, Tetzel saw that Luther's arguments against indulgences were in reality directed against the supremacy of the Pope, and, furbishing up his theology, he proceeded to draw up and issue a series of counter-Theses. When, however, Luther's students at Wittenberg heard that Tetzel had publicly burned their professor's Theses, they procured a bundle of Tetzel's counter-Theses, and, lighting a pile in the street of the town, consigned the ineffectual reply to the same fate. Theirs was a useless act, but its performance is interesting as revealing the attachment between the professor and his students.

Another and more influential Dominican came to the aid of Tetzel in the person of Sylvester

Mazzolini of Prierio, who was in the confidence of the Pope, and held the office of Master of the Sacred Palace at Rome, discharging the duties of censor of books. He went even farther than Tetzel had done, maintaining that "Whoever does not rely on the teaching of the Roman Church and of the Roman Pontiff, as the infallible rule of faith, from which the Holy Scriptures themselves derive their strength and their authority, is a heretic." Yet more clearly than Tetzel, Prierio saw the issue which had been raised in Luther's Theses. But at this stage Luther himself had no thought of separation from Rome, while the Pope looked upon the controversy as nothing more than a fresh squabble between members of rival orders, Augustinians and Dominicans. "Monkish jealousies," he said; "nothing more. Fra Luther is a man of fine genius."

The charge of heresy, hinted by Tetzel and Prierio, was taken up by a third Dominican, Hoogstraten, of Cologne, and adopted by John Eck, professor of scholastic theology at Ingolstadt, who had been engaged in a friendly correspondence with Luther prior to the controversy concerning indulgences. His taunt was couched in the words, "It is the Bohemian poison which you are circulating." To those who follow from a distance the story of the Reformation, the shaft of reproach is blunted by the knowledge of the sure place of Huss in the glorious succession of fearless witnesses to the truth; but in Luther's day it was anything but a compliment to link a man's name with that

of the Bohemian martyr. Yet Luther did not quail before the taunt; and when, in May, 1518, he published his "Resolutions" in answer to his critics, and in defence and amplification of his Theses, he ventured to dedicate the work to the Pope himself—so little did he admit the justice of the charge of heresy or realise the daily growing height of the wall which separated him from Rome. But he had taken his stand, and circumstances were soon to lead him to see that his first position of respectful submission to the Pope could not possibly be reconciled with fidelity to his own conscience.

When Luther's publication of his Theses was first reported to Rome, the Pope, as we have seen, made light of the matter. The Emperor Maximilian, who was not only nearer to the cradle of the Wittenberg movement than the Pope, but who had reasons of his own for wishing to thwart the Elector Frederick through his *protégé*, wrote to Leo, energetically drawing attention to this new portent. The result was a summons to Luther to answer at Rome, within sixty days of August 7, 1518, the charges preferred against him. Little more than a fortnight of this period elapsed before Leo changed his mind, and the Wittenberg professor was ordered to appear, not at Rome, but at Augsburg, before the Papal legate, Cardinal de Vio, better known as Cardinal Cajetan, who was then attending a Diet of the Empire.

At the Diet the legate and his master had met with a rebuff, their demand for a tax to support

operations against the Turk being defeated, and protests being raised against papal aggression and avarice in the matter of annates and the illegal usurpation of ecclesiastical patronage in Germany. Too frequently the Italian princes of the Church had referred to the "drunken Germans," and a national feeling of indignation with the hierarchy, which drew so heavily upon German funds, had sprung up. This made it easier for the Elector to protect Luther when, in opposition to the papal counsellors, he raised his voice against indulgences. But Luther's was more than a national movement, for he was spurred to take action, not as a German relying upon the history and traditions of the German people, but as a Christian teacher appealing solely to the inspired Word of God. That, before long, his movement was allied with one purely political, takes nothing from the fact that from the first Luther's motive was spiritual, and his aim to bring his hearers and his readers to a right view of truth. In a sense the political discontent prepared the ground for Luther, and inclined Germans to listen to the attack on the Papacy made by a brother German. Indeed, it is on record that when the first outcry against Luther's Theses was raised, the Emperor himself said to one of the Elector's councillors, "That which your monk is doing is not to be despised; the game with the priests is beginning. Take care of him; it may happen that we shall have need of him."

The Emperor had changed his mind, and it

was largely at his instigation that Luther was now summoned to appear before the legate, Cardinal Cajetan, at Augsburg. It was no small consolation to Luther, at this crisis, that he had the entire sympathy of his university and of the townsmen of Wittenberg, as well as the active protection of the Elector. In the university he had just welcomed a new colleague, who was destined to be a fellow-worker with him in an even greater enterprise than the conduct of the already flourishing seat of learning. This was Philip Melanchthon, who had just been appointed professor of Greek by the Elector on the recommendation of Reuchlin, a relative of the young student.

Melanchthon was only twenty-one, but he had already won a wide reputation by the depth of his learning. Quiet, shy, and unassuming in his manner, the young professor possessed a scholarly grace and gentle disposition which especially fitted him to be the colleague of Luther, to whose vehemence and impetuosity his sweet gentleness served as a foil. Like Luther, Melanchthon was of humble parentage, for his father was a master armourer in Bretten, in the Palatinate. He took his Bachelor's degree at the University of Heidelberg when he was about fourteen, and at this time he changed his name, substituting the Greek form Melanchthon for the German Schwarzerde.

It was with mixed feelings that Luther's friends saw him set out on foot from Wittenberg for Augsburg; at times even Luther himself wondered

whether this journey was not to be his last, and friends whom he encountered on the way took no pains to reassure him. In the convent at Weimar, where he rested, one of the monks, wishing to warn him, said, "Dear brother, in Augsburg you will meet with Italians who are learned men, but more likely to burn you than to answer you." What was Luther's answer? "Pray to God," he said, "and to His dear Son Jesus Christ, Whose cause it is, to uphold it for me." Again, at Nuremberg, where he was joined by his friend Link, he was warned afresh of the perils which beset him. "Even at Augsburg," he wrote, "in the midst of His enemies, Christ reigns. May Christ live, may Luther die; may the God of my salvation be exalted!"

Augsburg was reached on October 7th, and Luther forthwith announced his arrival to Cajetan. While he was waiting for a safe-conduct from the Emperor, which was negotiated by two of the Elector's councillors, Luther was visited by a friend of the Cardinal's, Urban of Serra Longa, whose flippant jestings must have grated on the purposeful soul of the German professor. The incident could be dismissed as too trivial for mention were it not for the response which Urban's invitation to retract drew from the indignant Luther. "If I am convinced out of the Sacred Scriptures that I have erred, I shall be but too glad to retract." That this German monk should dare set himself in opposition to the Pope was incredible to the courtly Italian,

and he asked whether Luther imagined that any prince could protect him against the Holy See—and if not, where was his refuge? "I shall still have heaven," said Luther; and it was in this quiet confidence that he awaited his interview with Urban's patron, the cardinal legate.

Luther's first meeting with Cardinal Cajetan was on October 11th, the day after he had received the Emperor's safe-conduct. The legate was insistent that the young professor should retract. Luther, with the utmost respect, asked to be shown in what he had erred, and the cardinal pointed out two of his propositions as erroneous. In one he had denied that the Sacrament had any efficacy unless a man had faith; in another he had denied that the merits of Christ formed part of the treasure from which the Pope granted indulgences to the faithful. No scriptural proof of his error on either point could Luther get. "Scripture!" said the cardinal. "The Pope is above Scriptures and above Councils." Decretals and the works of the schoolmen Cajetan could quote against Luther, but not one line of Scripture. A second interview was no more successful than the first. Luther still refused to retract unless he was proved from Scripture to be at fault, but he offered to submit his Theses to the judgment of the most famous universities, and particularly that of Paris.

Staupitz, who was in Augsburg with the idea of helping Luther, obtained permission from the legate for Luther to put his views in writing;

and at his third and last interview with Cajetan he read a declaration emphasising and maintaining his position. This the legate contemptuously promised to send to Rome, when he found that Luther declined his proffered safe-conduct to go in person before the Pope. Staupitz endeavoured to induce the cardinal to hear Luther once more, but the legate would not consent. "I will have no more disputing with that beast," he said, "for he has deep eyes and wonderful speculation in his head." If Cajetan mistrusted Luther, the feeling was mutual. Four days later, on October 20th, Luther escaped from Augsburg mounted on a horse provided by friends, and a few days afterwards he re-entered his beloved Wittenberg.

At Augsburg Luther left behind an appeal to Rome, in which he protested against the cardinal's insistence on his retractation without showing him in what he had erred, closing with the words: "I appeal from the Most Holy Father the Pope, ill-informed, to the Most Holy Father the Pope Leo X., by the grace of God to be better informed." Resting at Nuremberg on his homeward journey, Luther learned for the first time that Cajetan had in his possession when he was before him a papal brief empowering the Cardinal, if Luther would not recant, to have him seized and kept in safe custody that he might be sent to Rome. Further, Luther's cause had actually been judged in his absence in a papal court, that of Jerome, Bishop of Ascoli, and he had been adjudged guilty. It was no light danger that he escaped by flight from Augsburg,

and he came once more to Wittenberg with feelings of great thankfulness for his deliverance, on the first anniversary of the day upon which he had posted up his Theses.

The encounter with Cajetan was Luther's first brush with an emissary of the papal court, and is on that account worthy of detailed notice. Cajetan's chagrin when he found that Luther had escaped him was great indeed. Although he forwarded to Rome his account of what he was pleased to regard as his victory over the professor, he displayed a different spirit in the letter which he wrote at the same time to the Elector, in which he implored Frederick no longer to sully the fame of his name and the glory of his house by protecting a heretic. On receipt of the legate's report in Rome, the Pope proceeded to issue, on November 9th, a new decretal on the subject of indulgences, declaring that "all those who have acquired indulgences, whether alive or dead, are released from so much temporal punishment for their actual sins as is the equivalent of the acquired indulgence. This doctrine is to be held and preached by all, under penalty of excommunication, from which only the Pope can absolve, save at the point of death."

The effect of this pronouncement upon Luther was twofold. In the first place it made him think more closely than hitherto on the ground of the papal authority; and we find him writing at about this time to his friend Wenceslaus Link at Nuremberg: "The conviction is daily growing upon

me that the Pope is Antichrist." In the second place it led him to challenge the Pope's pretension by appealing from his statement of faith to a General Council. Once before he had appealed from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope to-be-better-informed. Now he appeals not to the Pope, but to a Council —in other words, from the Pope to a representative body of the Church.

At Rome the belief was still held that Luther and the Wittenberg movement could soon be quelled. By his chamberlain Miltitz, Leo was sending the golden rose in this year, 1518, to the Elector ; and the envoy was instructed to note the esteem in which Luther was held, and to see what he could do to win him over. To his horror he found, as he journeyed, that of every five Germans three were on the side of the monk of Wittenberg ; and when at last he met him at the house of Spalatin, he almost fawned upon him. To such an extent were Luther's feelings worked upon by the astute diplomatist that, although he would retract nothing, he agreed to the suggestion of Miltitz that neither side should attack the other, pending the reference of all points in dispute to the Archbishop of Treves.

For the time being the Reformer was silenced, but not for long. The Pope's friends did not realise what Luther's temporary weakness had done for them, or they would not have drawn him from his retirement. As it was, John Eck, now Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, had attacked Luther's opinions in a work entitled " The Obelisks."

To this a counter pamphlet had been issued by Andrew Bodenstein, better known as Carlstadt, who was now challenged by Eck to one of those public disputations which played no mean part in controversy in the days when there was no newspaper press. But before the day fixed for the disputation arrived Eck must needs publish thirteen Theses in which he plainly attacked Luther; and thus the professor's self-tied bonds were loosed, and Luther himself was drawn into the war of words with Eck, which was waged at Leipzig in July, 1519.

The disputation is important, for it marks a distinct stage in the drawing of the line between Rome and the Reformer. The question of free will was first debated, Dr. Eck and his friends maintaining that man, without the aid of the Holy Spirit, and simply of himself, has the power to choose what is spiritually good, and to obey God. Luther and Carlstadt, on the other hand, contended that until his nature is renewed by the Spirit, man cannot love or serve God. In this part of the disputation Carlstadt would seem to have been the spokesman of Wittenberg; but when the subject of the Pope's primacy came under discussion, Luther took first place. Eck began by claiming that the supremacy was of Divine appointment, basing his arguments on Christ's words, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church." Luther replied, as do Protestants to-day, that it is an unnatural interpretation to make Peter the rock. What are known as the

"false decretals" were quoted by Eck; Luther pointed to their spuriousness, and took his stand upon the Scriptures themselves. Accused by Eck of being "a patron of the heresies of Wycliffe and Huss," he replied that "among the articles of Huss condemned by the Council of Constance some are plainly most Christian and evangelical, which the Universal Church cannot condemn." We see how far Luther has advanced. His appeal had been first to the Pope, then from the Pope to the Council, and now from the Council to the Faith of the Church at large. From this point he bases himself, not upon tradition, but upon Scripture alone.

Luther's boldness at Leipzig caused many of his friends to fear for his safety; but there was much in the political situation of the moment which worked for his immunity. The protests of the men of Wittenberg against the extortion of Rome had found an echo in the hearts of the German princes and people, which was apparent even to such prejudiced observers as Miltitz. When Luther returned from his encounter with Cajetan, and again when he found himself once more in his beloved Wittenberg after the disputation at Leipzig, men wondered whether he would continue to dwell in the city, or whether the Elector would be prevailed upon to banish him. Bohemia was ready to open its doors to him, and new friends nearer home rallied round the Reformer. Luther was cheered by the sympathy shown to him, and most of all by the Elector's friendship, which to

Cajetan's appeal dictated the reply that Luther had the right to be shown in what he had erred before he was judged.

The Elector's patronage was of more than ordinary value at this juncture, for the Emperor Maximilian had died early in 1518, and Frederick, who might have been Emperor had he desired the purple, was Regent of the Empire until Charles of Austria and Spain was elected in June, 1519. During the interregnum, and until Charles could come from Spain to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1520, the Elector's friendship was keenly sought by Pope, prince, and prelates, and this fact helped to protect the professor, who was not only Frederick's subject but his friend.

"In quietness and confidence" Luther and his growing band of friends pursued their way at Wittenberg. At Leipzig, as we have seen, Eck had taunted Luther with being a patron of the heresies of Wycliffe and Huss. Once back in his university, Luther set to work to study the writings of Huss, and found in them, to his delight, an exposition of that same doctrine which he had himself learned from St. Paul—the doctrine of justification by faith. "We have all," he exclaimed in his joy, "Paul, Augustine, and myself, been Hussites without knowing it!" Teaching, preaching, writing, filled week after week and month after month with delightful labour. It was at this time that Luther published his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians—"his own epistle," as he termed it—in which he gave the clearest

and fullest exposition of the great truth of justification by faith alone.

Then came Luther's famous "Appeal to the Emperor, Princes, and People of Germany," in which, even more boldly than before, he attacked the supremacy of the Pope, and pointed to the extortionate demands made by Rome upon Germany, and in which, too, he taught the apostolic lesson of the priesthood of all believers. Germany rang with Luther's praises, the halls of his university were crowded, and message after message carried to Rome the tidings of the growing movement. Eck and Cajetan were already there, and their influence prevailed with the Pope to issue, on June 15th, 1520, a papal bull condemning as scandalous, heretical, and damnable, forty-one propositions extracted from the writings of Luther. The publication of this bull was entrusted to two nuncios, Eck and Aleander, of whom the latter had been secretary to Pope Alexander VI.

News of the issue of the bull reached Wittenberg long before the document itself arrived, and Luther hastened to forge fresh weapons for the fight with Rome. In the strongly worded "Babylonish Captivity of the Church," he not only attacked once more the supremacy of the Papacy, but boldly laid hands upon the sacramental theory of Rome, declaring that "without *faith* in God's promise the Sacrament is dead; it is a casket without a jewel, a scabbard without a sword." Luther even wrote to the Pope himself, enclosing a little book on "The Liberty of

the Christian"; and when at last the bull arrived in October, 1520, he solemnly and before a notary entered a protest against it, formally renewing his appeal from the Pope to a future Council.

The two nuncios, who carried copies of the bull from diocese to diocese, had ample opportunities of seeing the extent of German sympathy with Luther. Wherever they went they burned such copies of Luther's works as they could find. Luther retaliated by publicly burning copies of the Canon Law and other papal works, and finally consigning to the flames the dread bull itself, saying, as he cast it into the pile, "Since thou hast vexed the Holy One of the Lord, may everlasting fire vex and consume thee!" It was on October 31st, 1517, that Luther posted his Theses on the gate of the castle church at Wittenberg, and it was three years and six weeks later, on December 10th, 1520, that he cast the papal bull into the flames outside the eastern gate of the same Saxon town.

Sixty days were allowed by the bull, during which Luther might recant and make his peace with the Church. As he refused to recant, the second bull of excommunication was launched against him on January 3rd, 1521. The hope of the Pope for the enforcement of this bull lay in the young Emperor, who was now preparing for his first Diet, which, as the plague raged at Nuremberg, was to be held at Worms. To the Imperial Court at Cologne went two papal envoys, Caraccioli and Aleander, pointing out that the air of

Germany was thick with heresy, and asking, with a view to its purification, for an Imperial edict against Luther, the author of all the mischief. The Emperor referred the envoys to the Elector Frederick, who suggested that the coming Diet would afford an opportunity of bringing Luther before a tribunal of pious, learned, and impartial judges.

No sooner did the Diet meet than the Emperor read a brief which he had received from Rome enjoining him to append the imperial sanction to the execution of the bull against Luther; and, to the surprise of the princes, he also read an edict which he had prepared, granting what the Pope asked; but before putting this in force, the Emperor, according to custom, added, "If the States knew any better course, he was ready to hear them." Aleander attempted to induce the Diet to endorse the Emperor's action, but the assembly, so far from blindly accepting his advice, proceeded to draw up a list of a hundred and one grievances against the Church which cried aloud for redress. Further, the princes protested that it would be unjust to condemn Luther unheard, and without knowing that he was the author of the incriminating books. Thus it came about that, on March 24th, 1521, the Imperial herald arrived at Wittenberg, and put into the hands of "the honourable our well-beloved and pious Doctor Martin Luther, of the Order of Augustines," a summons to appear before the Diet of the Empire.

CHAPTER X.

THE DIET OF WORMS.

Luther's Triumphal Progress to Worms—The Diet Described —Luther Bases himself on Scripture and Refuses to Retract—Is placed under the Imperial Ban—Is Carried off to the Wartburg as "Squire George."

"I AM called," was Luther's answer to his friends, when he received the Imperial summons to appear before the Diet of Worms, and some natural fear for his safety was expressed. "It is ordered and decreed," he continued, "that I appear in that city. I will neither recant nor flee. I will go to Worms in spite of all the gates of hell, and the prince of the power of the air."

With the summons, the Imperial herald had brought Luther a safe-conduct; but the Reformer knew what had been the fate of Huss when he journeyed to Constance under a similar protection. His friends were full of anxiety for him, but he himself went boldly forward; and on April 2nd, nine days after the herald had presented himself at Wittenberg, Luther was ready to follow him to Worms.

The fourteen days' journey was one long triumph for the Reformer, who was everywhere hailed as a national hero. But the nearer the little procession drew to Worms the louder grew

the threats of his enemies, the deeper the alarm of his friends. Even Spalatin, the Elector's counsellor, sent a message to Luther, when Worms was all but reached, begging him not to enter the city. "Go and tell your master," was Luther's answer, "that even should there be as many devils in Worms as tiles on the housetops, still I would enter it." For a considerable part of the journey Luther was far from well, but his splendid resolution never failed him; and one chronicler tells us that as the towers of Worms came into sight on the morning of April 16th, he sat up in the cart in which he travelled with three friends from Wittenberg behind the Imperial herald, and began to sing the immortal hymn which he had himself composed: "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott."

A trumpet, sounded by the watch on the cathedral tower, warned the townsmen of the approach of the cavalcade, and the streets were soon thronged with a crowd even denser than that which had greeted the young Emperor when he entered the city in triumph a few days earlier. Many nations were represented in the crowd that pressed upon the little covered cart, which could with difficulty be brought to the door of the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes—chosen for Luther's lodging because it conveniently adjoined the hall of the Diet. A Romish writer has put it on record for us that as Luther descended from his cart he was heard to say, bravely, "God will be for me."

Now had come the crisis of the movement which

had begun at Wittenberg; and his friends no less than his opponents knew that, humanly speaking, everything now depended upon the answer which Luther was to make before the Emperor and princes assembled in the Diet. He had scarcely reached his lodgings before men of all ranks crowded in to see and hear the daring monk against whom Rome had already launched her thunderbolt of excommunication, and whom Charles was prepared to place under the ban of the Empire. Nobles and prelates, whether friendly or hostile to his cause, jostled one another in their eagerness to see the miner's son who had set all Christendom ringing with his name. The night was far advanced before he was free to seek the rest which he needed to brace him for the ordeal of the morrow, when he was to make his first appearance before the Diet.

Early next morning the hereditary marshal of the Empire cited Luther formally to present himself on the afternoon of the same day before his Imperial Majesty and the States of the Empire. All the forenoon he remained within doors, and most of the time was devoted to earnest prayer. Thus fortified, he was fully prepared when the marshal and a herald came to conduct him before the Diet. But the crowd was even greater than on the previous day, and every window and housetop had its cluster of spectators, eager to see the intrepid monk pass to his trial and, as many believed, his death. As the officials forced a way through the throng round the Town Hall,

a brave old soldier put his hand on Luther's shoulder, saying, as he did so, "My monk, my good monk, you are now going to face greater peril than any of us have ever encountered on the bloodiest field; but if you are right, and feel sure of it, go on, and God will fight for you." And with these cheering words ringing in his ears, Luther passed from the surging crowd to the calm grandeur of the Diet.

The chief figure in the imposing scene which now confronted Luther was the young Emperor, who sat in his chair of state, with his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, one step below him, the three ecclesiastical Electors on his right, the three lay Electors on his left, and the two papal nuncios, Caraccioli and Aleander, at his feet. On the floor of the hall, in front of the Imperial daïs, was a table at which sat John Eccius, or Eck, Chancellor of the Archbishop of Treves, who was to act as spokesman of the Diet and interrogate Luther. On either side of the table, to the walls of the hall, stretched benches on which were seated the princes, prelates, knights, deputies, and ambassadors who constituted the members of the Diet. Facing this assembly, gay with every emblem of rank and wealth, stood Martin Luther, in his plain monk's habit, and with him one or two of his Wittenberg colleagues who had kept him company on his journey.

Chancellor Eck broke the deep silence which followed the entrance of the man who had stirred all Christendom, and, first in Latin and then in

LUTHER BEFORE THE DIET OF WORMS.

From the Painting by K. A. Schwerdgeburth.

German, repeated these words in sonorous tones: "Martin Luther, his sacred and invincible Majesty has cited you before his throne, with advice and counsel of the States of the Holy Roman Empire, to answer two questions. First, do you acknowledge these books," pointing with his finger to a pile of volumes on the table, "to have been written by you? Secondly, are you prepared to retract and disavow the opinions you have advanced in them?" The titles of the books were then read over at the request of one of Luther's friends, and Luther at once admitted the authorship of each and all of them. Before he answered the second question, he humbly asked for time, seeing that the question was one which concerned the salvation of souls and in which the Word of God was implicated, and in order that he might reply without offending against the Word of God. He was allowed twenty-four hours in which to prepare his reply, and the Diet broke up for the day.

All the time Luther was in his presence, the Emperor had not taken his eyes off him; and as the Diet was breaking up, Charles was overheard to say to one of his courtiers, "Certainly that monk will never make a heretic of me." But the simplicity of his dress and action, coupled with his worn frame and thin visage, had made a deep and favourable impression on many members of the Diet.

Considering how short a time he had been in Worms, and that he had been but once before

the Diet, Luther was well advised to postpone the answer upon which hung such momentous issues, not only to himself, but to his nation and his Faith. But the interval was in many ways a season of trial for him. Again he spent the forenoon largely in wrestling with God in prayer, and in great agony of soul. Rising from his knees, he drafted his defence in outline, and searched the Scriptures for passages with which to fortify it. Finally, laying his hand on the open sacred volume, he swore to remain ever faithful to the Gospel, and to confess it, even should he have to seal his confession with his blood.

Once more the marshal and the herald conducted Luther through crowded streets to the hall of the Diet; but the assembly was engaged on other business, and two long hours elapsed before the monk and his attendants were admitted to the presence of the Emperor for the second time. At last they were ushered in, and the Chancellor at once demanded Luther's reply to the question.

Saluting the Emperor, the princes, and lords respectfully, he began his reply in a full, firm, but modest tone, and proceeded to divide his books into three classes. In the first class were those in which he had expounded the first principles of faith and morals, and to those even his enemies took no exception. In the second class he ranged the books in which he had waged war against the Papacy, and had attacked errors in doctrine,

scandals in life, and tyrannies in ecclesiastical administration, of which Christendom and Germany were witnesses; if he were to retract these books, he would be making the burdens of his countrymen tenfold heavier by riveting anew the yoke on their necks under the sanction of the Emperor and the States. The third class of his books comprised those in which he had attacked opponents who had defended the errors he had exposed. He invited all men to examine what he had written, and to object if they had aught against it. And let him but be convinced from the Word of God and right reason that he was in error, and he should not need to be asked twice to retract; he would be the first to throw his books into the flames. Already he had warned the Papacy, and now, in an eloquent peroration, he warned the Emperor and the Empire that they too were on their trial, and that the future of their realms and crowns depended upon their decision.

Luther had addressed the Diet for an hour in German, but this language was unfamiliar to the Emperor and to some members of the Diet; so, after a brief rest, he repeated his speech in Latin with equal force. A brief consultation among the princes followed the conclusion of the address, and then Eck, at the command of the Emperor, complained that Luther had not answered the question put to him. The Diet was not concerned with his views on the authority of Councils, to which he had referred in his argument, and Eck demanded on behalf of the Emperor a direct

and precise answer to his question: Would Luther, or would he not, retract?

The evening was now far advanced, and the hall was lighted by torches. Luther stood fearlessly before the court and, unmoved, replied: "Since your most Serene Majesty, and your High Mightinesses, require from me a direct and precise answer, I will give you one; and it is this: I cannot submit my faith either to the Pope or to the Councils, because it is clear as day that they have frequently erred and contradicted each other. Unless, therefore, I am convinced by the testimony of the Scripture, or on plain and clear grounds of reason, so that conscience shall bind me to make acknowledgment of error, *I cannot and will not retract*, for it is neither safe nor wise to do anything contrary to conscience." And then, looking round on the assembly, he said—and the words are among the most sublime in history—"*Here I stand. I can do no other. May God help me. Amen.*" Down through the ages those words still echo, and well they may, for they mark the beginning of a new era for Europe and the world. The die was cast when those brave words were spoken, and from that moment reconciliation with the Papacy was impossible for Luther. April 18th, 1521, when Luther made this memorable stand before the Emperor and States of the Empire, is indeed a red-letter day in the calendar of Christendom.

Next day the Emperor proceeded to announce in the Diet that he should place Luther under

the interdict of the Empire. Charles would not, to his honour be it said, withdraw the safe-conduct he had given, although some of the princes were in favour of this step being taken. But the Elector was no longer Luther's only friend among the German notables, for many others had been won by his bold stand before the Diet for the liberty of Germany as well as for the freedom of truth; and there was prudence, as well as a regard for the honour of his pledged word, in Charles's decision to allow Luther to return to Wittenberg unmolested.

For a week after his final and memorable appearance before the Diet, Luther remained in Worms, in constant consultation with his friends; and when at last he left the city his car was surrounded by a score of horsemen, and his journey began amid popular demonstrations in his honour, quite as marked as those which had characterised his arrival. Then he had only the papal excommunication hanging over him; now he had both papal bull and imperial ban. Either would have involved him in a terrible fate had public opinion allowed it to take full effect; but Luther, as the world was soon to see, had powerful friends.

It was no light thing to oppose the imperial edict, and, anxious as the Elector was to protect Luther, it was clear that even his hand must not appear too openly in the measures to be adopted. Nine days after the professor had left Worms, the imperial herald was dismissed, and most of his companions were sent on to Wittenberg by a

different route, on the plea that Luther was to visit his grandmother at Möhra. As he drove in the Thuringian forest, the professor was set upon by a party of masked horsemen, who carried him off to a neighbouring castle, where he was told he must sojourn for an unknown period. Further, he was provided with secular dress, and, with a sword at his side, was known as "Squire George."

Loud was the lamentation in some quarters at the spiriting away of Luther; but he himself, as he looked from the castle windows, knew at once, if indeed he did not know before, that he was in the Wartburg, near his beloved Eisenach. Even the Elector dared not openly shelter the monk Luther who was under ban of both Pope and Emperor; but he might do as he willed with "Squire George." And by this stratagem was a quiet resting-place found for the Reformer, secure from the assaults of his enemies.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

Zwingli's Career—Preaches against Indulgences at Einsiedeln—Begins his Life-work at Zurich—Other Pioneers of the Reformation in Switzerland—Rapid Progress of the Movement—Zwingli Defends his Views before the Council of Two Hundred—His Marriage—Public Disputation on Images and the Mass—The First Swiss Martyrs—The Mass Discontinued at Zurich.

LUTHER was for the time being silenced, or so it seemed to his friends; but tidings had already reached them of a great movement in Switzerland, from which they hoped much. If Luther had indeed been spirited away, as his friends supposed, Ulric Zwingli was in full activity across the frontier of Switzerland. To him and his work we must now turn.

Seven weeks after the birth of Martin Luther, on New Year's Day, 1484, there was born to Huldric Zwingli, bailiff of the parish of Wildhaus, his third son, Ulric. His uncle was Dean of Wesen, and under his advice the boy was sent to school first at Basle and afterwards at Berne, to share in the New Learning which was then spreading over Europe. At Berne young Zwingli was almost induced to enter the monastery of the Dominicans, but his father heard of the temptation which assailed him, and the lad was brought home to

the Canton of St. Gall, and was next sent, by the advice of his uncle, to the high school of Vienna, where for two years he eagerly continued the classical studies which he had begun at Berne.

When he returned once more, in his eighteenth year, to his native village, he soon began to pine for opportunities of further study, and for putting to good use the learning he had already acquired. Both these he found at Basle, where he taught for a while in the school of St. Martin's, studying at the same time in the university, from which he received the degree of Master of Arts. This degree he accepted out of deference to others and to custom ; but it was his wont in after years to decline the use of the title, saying, " One is our Master, even Christ."

At Basle young Zwingli found himself in the company of just such another band of fellow-students as quickened Luther's keen intellect at Erfurt, and one of the number—Leo Juda—shared many of his later labours and triumphs. Together they took up the study of the scholastic philosophy ; and, again like Luther, Zwingli found in it only barrenness and confusion. For a while he sat at the feet of Thomas Wittenbach, a disciple of Reuchlin, the famous Hebraist, and it was from him that Zwingli first learned that the Church had wandered from the old and great doctrine that " the death of Christ is the only ransom for our souls."

The seed had been sown in his heart, and it was destined to grow rapidly. In 1506, when

Zwingli was in his twenty-second year, he was chosen parish priest of Glarus, his selection displacing an equerry of the Pope; and he began his work, after he had been ordained at Constance, with, it must be confessed, a keener love for the Roman and Greek classics than for the Holy Scriptures. In his parish—which was not far from his birthplace—he set up a Latin school, which he himself conducted; and into this were gathered the youth of all the best families in the district. But after nine years of quiet work his countrymen became involved in a quarrel between Pope Leo X. and Francis I. of France. Inflamed by the eloquence of the Cardinal-Bishop of Sion, the Swiss hastened across the Alps to defend the "Holy Father," and the young priest of Glarus marched with his parishioners as a military chaplain. After a fearful fight of two days on the field of Marignano the Swiss fell back before the French army, but in good order, with all their guns and wounded. Zwingli was one of those who escaped to tell the story of the defeat in Switzerland, and he carried back with him to his valley a profound sense of the folly of this mercenary service and of dragging his country into the quarrels of the Papacy.

Nor was this the only lesson which he learned in Italy. He did not, like his German contemporary, visit the fountain-head of the Papal system, but he saw enough of its results in its own land to turn his attention to its abuses. Like Luther, he saw that ambition and avarice, pride and luxury,

were the true fruits of the Roman tree. About the time of the war, Zwingli paid a visit to Basle, where Erasmus was then living; and when he went back to his parish it was with a quickened zeal for the study of the Holy Scriptures. Hitherto he had been an enthusiast for the ancient classics, whose recovery was the first work of the Revival of Learning. Henceforth the Word became for him the touchstone by which all conduct and all teaching must be tried. Use and tradition he was content to brush aside, if they could not be proved to be in conformity with the plain teaching of the Scriptures. The fame of his learning and piety was soon spread abroad in a land where the clergy of the day were not conspicuous for the possession of either quality, and in 1516 he was invited by the abbot to become preacher of the Convent of Einsiedeln, perhaps the most famous shrine in Switzerland. It is situated on a hill between the Lakes of Zurich and Wallenstadt, in the Canton of Schwyz, and boasted then, as it does to this day, a miracle-working image of the Virgin, drawing large numbers of pilgrims from all parts of Switzerland and Germany.

To the crowds who visited the convent Zwingli preached a Gospel which must have sounded strangely in their ears. To merit grace they had made long and weary pilgrimages to the shrine; and the teacher taught that it was not a pilgrim's gown but a contrite heart which was pleasing to God. Plenary indulgences were to be obtained at the abbey, but Zwingli's doctrine was that Christ offered

pardon without money and without price. This was a new Gospel for Switzerland, but men from all parts of the country heard it with pleasure, and though his preaching soon materially diminished the income of the abbey, which had largely been drawn from the pilgrims, it brought fresh fame to Zwingli, which bore fruit at the end of 1518, when he was elected preacher in the College of Canons which Charlemagne had established at Zurich. At that time Zurich was the chief city of the Swiss Confederation after Berne, and this fact added to the importance of the sphere which was now opened for Zwingli in what proved to be his life-work. He took up his work on January 1st, 1519, his thirty-fifth birthday, and at once began to preach a series of sermons on the Gospel of St. Matthew, in which, as he had done at Glarus and at Einsiedeln, he put forward the Word of God as the one infallible authority, and the death of Christ as the one complete satisfaction for sin.

Before Zwingli left Einsiedeln the country was invaded by the Franciscans, to whom had been delegated the sale of indulgences in Switzerland. Their chief was one Samson, in all respects worthy to be the fellow-labourer of the Dominican Tetzel, whose impious extravagances roused Luther, as we have seen, to a sense of the danger under which Christendom lay. At Einsiedeln Zwingli preached against indulgences, and he was already in the pulpit at Zurich before Samson with his bales of pardons reached that city on his tour. "God only can forgive," he preached. "None on earth can

pardon sin. You may buy this man's papers, but be assured you are not absolved. He who sells indulgences is a sorcerer like Simon Magus; a false prophet like Balaam; an ambassador of the king of the bottomless pit; for to these dismal portals rather than to the gates of Paradise do indulgences lead."

To such good effect did Zwingli preach, that the pardonmonger was sent away from the city without a single pardon having been sold within its walls. The preacher's boldness might well have brought down upon him the wrath of Rome, but the Pope had before him the probability that he would soon have need of more Swiss swordsmen. Zwingli was undoubtedly the most popular man in Switzerland, and to lay hands upon him would certainly have provoked national resentment. The affection in which the preacher was held was heightened by the devotion he displayed, in the same year, 1519, during the visitation of Zurich by the plague, to which he himself fell a victim. From their anxiety during his slow progress to health, his fellow-citizens learned what the young preacher had become to them.

When he returned to his pulpit and preached for the first time after his illness, the scene was a memorable one, and it proved the opening of a new era in his work. The idea which dominated his mind was the restoration of Christianity, and from all parts of the country he soon saw unmistakable signs that this renewal was rapidly going on.

While Zwingli was the foremost figure in the Swiss Reformation, he was by no means the only agent in a movement which sprang into life in all parts of the Confederation, and which owed much to the publication, in 1516, of an edition of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus, who was now living at Basle. In the same city, too, was the printer Frobenius, who from this centre reproduced the writings of Luther and spread them over the face of Europe. Despite opposition from the aristocracy, from the Church, and from the university, Hedio, Capito, and Œcolampadius carried on in Basle a work similar in all respects to that of their friend Zwingli. At Lucerne Myconius, who was a native of the city, essayed the same work; but he was expelled from his office as schoolmaster on the charge of being a Lutheran, although he made no mention of Luther's name in his addresses. At Berne the apostolic work was taken up with more success by Haller, of whom it is told that, alarmed by the rough ways of the Bernese, he wrote to Zwingli that he would one day "perish by the teeth of these bears," and received the reassuring reply, "No; you must tame these bear-cubs by the Gospel."

Greatly helped as Zwingli was by the men who laboured with him, it was undoubtedly the publication of Luther's German edition of the New Testament which did most to forward his work where it had already begun, and to prepare the ground for it where it was to be attempted. The story of its publication in Germany has yet to be told

when we take up anew the thread of Luther's work, which it was necessary to break in order that some account might be given of a movement which was almost contemporary with his, and, as we shall see, touched it and was helped by it at many points. Zwingli himself had derived his inspiration from the Word of God; and now that Luther's labours gave the German-speaking world the Bible in its own tongue, "every peasant's cottage became a school, in which the highest of all arts was practised."

When war broke out in 1521 between the Emperor Charles V. and the French King Francis I., the men of the Swiss cantons found themselves ranged under opposing banners, some supporting one monarch and some the other. Zwingli, who was an ardent patriot, sternly denounced all mercenary foreign service for his countrymen, and this brought him into disfavour with those in high places, who profited by the friendship of the foreign courts. They, as well as the ecclesiastics, who were more directly concerned in the perpetuation of existing errors and practices, now began to bestir themselves against Zwingli; and it was not long before an attack which he made upon the fasts ordered by the Church gave them, as they thought, an opportunity for action. Zwingli contended that there was no Biblical authority forbidding the eating of certain meats at certain times, and he arrayed the war party against him on this point by saying, in one of his sermons, "Many think that to eat flesh is improper—nay,

a sin—although God has nowhere forbidden it; but to sell human flesh for slaughter and carnage they hold to be no sin at all."

The suffragan of the Bishop of Constance, in whose diocese Zurich was situated, appeared before the Great Council of Zurich, and predicted anarchy for the State in which it was permitted to any-one to teach men to transgress the ordinances of the Church. Zwingli pleaded that the people should be led by another path than ceremonies to the knowledge of the truth, even by the path which Christ and His apostles pursued. The council contented itself with asking the Pope, through the Bishop of Constance, to give some solution of the point which had been raised.

Zwingli returned to the attack, and the Bishops of Constance and Lausanne made his teaching the subject of pastoral letters to their clergy, forbidding all men to read the writings of Zwingli or Luther. But, not content with these fulminations, the bishops appealed to the Diet of the Swiss Confederacy, which was sitting at Baden in 1523, to use the secular arm to stay the propagation of the new doctrines by Zwingli and his fellow-workers. The appeal of the prelates was followed by another from Zwingli and his friends, who asked "that the preaching of the Gospel might not be forbidden, and that it might be permitted to the priests to marry." At the time, the petition was ignored; but its terms show how far the Swiss Reformers had already travelled along the road to freedom from the trammels of unscriptural tradition. It

is interesting to see how much more rapidly than in Germany the Reformation movement sought practical expression in altered modes of Divine worship, as well as in the purified religious thought which was the natural outcome of the closer study of God's Word, characteristic of both movements.

Leo Juda, who had been a schoolmate of Zwingli at Basle, and who shared to the full the holy aspirations of his manhood, came to Zurich early in 1523, to the curacy of St. Peter's; and a dispute which he had with a monk led to proceedings before a smaller public body, and to an appeal on the part of Zwingli, who had been drawn into the fray, for a public disputation before the Council of Two Hundred. His plea on this occasion was notable as the first and most complete exposition of the point to which Zwingli's restoration of Christianity on a scriptural foundation had led him and his friends.

The conference was appointed for January 29th, 1523, and a few days before it met, Zwingli printed and published a series of sixty-seven articles, which he offered to defend out of the Word of God. In his theses he boldly declared that Christ is our only Teacher and Mediator; that He alone is the Head of believers; that all who are united to Him are members of His body, children of God, and members of the Church; that it is by power from their Head alone that Christians can do any good act; that from Him, not from the Church or the clergy, comes the grace that sanctifies; that Jesus Christ is the one sovereign

and eternal priest ; that the mass is not a sacrifice ; that every kind of food may be made use of on all days ; that monkery, with all that appertains to it—frocks, tonsures, and badges—is to be rejected ; that Holy Scripture permits all men, without exception, to marry ; that ecclesiastics, as well as others, are bound to obey the magistrate ; that God alone can pardon sin ; that He gives pardon solely for the love of Christ ; that to receive money for the pardon of sins is simony ; and, finally, that there is no purgatory.

The burgomaster presided over the conference, and while Zwingli had for his chief lieutenant Leo Juda, the Bishop of Constance was represented by his vicar-general, John Faber, and deputies of the Reformation were present from Berne and Schaffhausen. The vicar-general pleaded the unbroken use of fourteen centuries for the practices which were challenged ; Zwingli pointed out that error was not the less error though it had endured through all those centuries, if no warrant could be found for it in Holy Scripture. Like Luther at Leipzig, Zwingli could find no argument brought against him except those from canon law, from the decrees of Councils, and from tradition. The vicar-general wished him to go to Constance, but he would only go under safe-conduct, and he warned the dignitary that he would accept no other judge than Holy Scripture, which brought from the bishop's representative the taunt, " Men might live in peace and concord and holiness, even if there were no Gospel."

After his victory over Faber and his friends, Zwingli resumed once more the task of building up his people in the faith, and then proceeded to lead them in the application of the principles he had taught. He began with the reformation of the cathedral to which he was himself attached as preacher. Then the problem of the conventual and monastic establishments was approached, very moderately at first, but with a firm purpose in the mind of Zwingli and the council. To begin with, nuns and monks who wished to do so were allowed to return to society, and gradually their institutions were broken up in Zurich. The funds of the conventual and monastic houses were wisely applied by the Reformers to such public purposes as education and the support of the poor. The abrogation of the law of celibacy for the clergy naturally followed the dissolution of the orders; and Zwingli himself, who had privately married Anna Reinhard two years before, now publicly celebrated his marriage in the minster church on April 2nd, 1524.

When the Reformers came to deal with the images in the churches and shrines, there was danger of some excitement amid a populace which had been taught to regard images and relics of the saints with peculiar reverence. Very wisely the magistrates of Zurich arranged for another public disputation, in October, 1523, at which the two points for discussion were images and the mass. Again Zwingli and Leo Juda were the two champions of the Reformers, chosen to defend

theses which all were at liberty to impugn if they chose.

For ages questions of faith had been decided by Popes and Councils, and by them alone; and Zwingli felt that the authority of the conference at Zurich might well be called in question. This led him to put in the forefront of his argument his theory of the Church, which was in itself a powerful attack on the papal supremacy. Brushing aside Popes and Councils, he boldly maintained that the Church is created by the Word of God; that her one and only Head is Christ; that the fountain of her laws and the charter of her rights is the Bible; and that she is composed of all those throughout the world who profess the Gospel. In short, he held that the community at Zurich, professing their faith in the Lord Jesus and their obedience to His Word, was the Church of Zurich, and he maintained that it had a right to order all things, conformably to the Bible.

The question of images Zwingli left largely to Leo Juda, whose contention was "that the use of images in worship is forbidden in the Holy Scriptures, and ought therefore to be done away with." Against this the opponents of the Reformers could advance nothing that affected the overwhelming strength of the case put forward by Zwingli and Juda. This disposed of, the conference passed to the vital question of the mass. Zwingli's fundamental position was that Christ's death on the cross was an all-sufficient and everlasting sacrifice, and that therefore the Lord's

Supper is not a sacrifice but a memorial. This cut the ground from beneath the doctrine of transubstantiation, as well as the ceremony of the adoration of the Host. Once more the opposition proved unexpectedly feeble; but under Zwingli's wise and moderating influence, effect was gradually given to the decision of the conference. The images were ordered to be covered and veiled until such time as their removal was decreed, the bones of saints were decently buried, and the Supper was dispensed in bread and wine to those who wished it in that form. At last, on June 20th, 1524, the magistrates and officers of the city set about the actual removal of images and shrines from the churches in their jurisdiction.

Then came a foretaste of persecution. The Diet of the Swiss Confederation threatened vengeance on Zurich, and a father and son named Wirth sealed their faith with their lives—the first martyrs of the Swiss Reformation. But Zwingli's answer was to carry to completion the work which had aroused his opponents. Hitherto the mass had not been abolished in Zurich; the Supper had been put alongside it. Now it was ordered that the mass should cease, and on the day before Good Friday, 1525, the Lord's Supper was celebrated as at its divine institution.

We must now turn back and trace the course which events in Germany had been following while the Reformation had made such rapid strides in Zurich.

CHAPTER XII.

LUTHER'S BIBLE.

Luther, in Seclusion, Continues his Warfare and Translates the New Testament into German—The Reformers Challenge the Mass and the Veneration of Images and of Relics—Luther's Return to Wittenberg—Dissemination of his Writings—The "Ratisbon Reformation"—Luther Declares for Consubstantiation—His Marriage—The Church Reorganised in Saxony and other German States.

We left Luther to all appearances a prisoner in the Wartburg on the morrow of the Diet of Worms, excommunicated by the Pope and under the ban of the Empire. In an age of great sovereigns, all but Frederick the Wise of Saxony were arrayed against him. There can be no doubt that if the Wittenberg professor who had dared to withstand the Emperor and his princes at Worms had been allowed to continue the fight at that moment in the open, some more determined effort would have been made to put him down. As it was, foes no less than friends were nonplussed by his disappearance, and, at this crisis of his life and work, the Reformer was given a safe retreat in which he might learn of God and prepare for the building up of His Church. At first his impetuous soul chafed against the discipline, but he came to see its real value to himself and the cause he had at heart. His former confinement in the monastery

cell at Erfurt had turned him to the study of God's Word; this second imprisonment was to enable him to give that Word to his fellow-countrymen in their own tongue.

Events beyond the frontier of Saxony, or even of Germany, conspired to distract the attention of the Emperor and other monarchs from Luther, and to leave him free to carry towards completion the great work of his life. First, and in the very year of the Diet of Worms, the Turk appeared in force on the Eastern frontier of the Empire, and, as if that were not sufficient to draw off Charles, unrest showed itself in his hereditary realm of Spain. Then, in December of that same year, 1521, Pope Leo X. died, and it was not till after months of intrigue that his successor was installed, under the title of Adrian VI.

From his retreat in the Wartburg, Luther continued his warfare against the champions of the Papacy, but polemical treatises were by no means the only result of the literary labours for which the solitude of his "Isle of Patmos," as he called it, afforded the opportunity. More and more he began to write in German, seeing with true insight that only by so doing could he arrest and keep the attention of the people, as well as of their spiritual and temporal rulers. But the special task of his imprisonment was the translation into German of the New Testament from the original Greek. The Reformer's appeal had from the first been to the authority of Holy Scripture, and it was of the highest importance to his work that

the evidence afforded by the sacred writers should be accessible to all who could read the language of everyday life. When once he had addressed himself to this task, Luther prosecuted it with almost superhuman energy, with the result that when he left the Wartburg the manuscript was complete, and ready for revision with the assistance of Melanchthon. Although it is anticipating the event, it may be well to say here that the complete New Testament in Luther's version was in print by September 21st, 1522, and that the Reformer at once embarked upon the even more arduous task of translating the Old Testament.

Luther spent ten months in the Wartburg, and the work of Reformation went steadily on at Wittenberg, although its leader was not present in person. The progress of the Reformation was along logical lines. The opposition to a particular papal dogma—in this case that of indulgences—had led to an examination and challenge of the papal supremacy. The appeal to Scripture now led to the challenging of the mass and the veneration of images and of the relics of saints. When Gabriel Zwilling, a friar of Luther's own Augustinian Order, raised his voice from the pulpit of the convent church proclaiming that the Supper is not a sacrifice but a memorial, he caused so great a stir that the Elector appointed a deputation, consisting of Justus Jonas, Philip Melanchthon, and Nicholas Amsdorf, to visit the Augustinian convent and restore peace. The result was that the members of the deputation and the

university agreed with the view put forward by Friar Gabriel. At Christmas, 1521, with the assent of both university and town council, Carlstadt, Archdeacon of Wittenberg, boldly dispensed the Sacrament in the simplicity of its divine institution, giving bread and wine to the communicants, and wearing neither cope nor chasuble.

That the principle of doing away with the mass had the sympathy of Luther and Melanchthon there can be no doubt, for it was in exact accord with their evangelical teaching ; but Luther from the first counselled moderation in giving outward expression to the changes consequent on the adoption of the reformed doctrines. A few days before Carlstadt openly celebrated the communion on Christmas Day, 1521, Luther himself paid a secret visit to Wittenberg to consult with his friends. He had already published a strong pamphlet against monastic vows, and Zwilling and others were eager to apply its excellent precepts, and even to carry them farther than Luther himself considered expedient at the moment. Thirteen of the Augustinians at Wittenberg quitted their monastery and engaged in secular trades and occupations ; and priests and monks who had embraced the reformed doctrines began to marry in such haste that Luther was afraid his friends would outrun the public sympathy and intelligence. To the people at Wittenberg he wrote, " You have forgotten what is due to the weak. If the strong run on at the utmost of their speed, regardless of their feebler brethren, who come more slowly

after them, the latter, thus left helpless behind, must needs succumb."

The need for Luther's caution was soon seen, for there came to Wittenberg Nicholas Stork and other fanatics who were known as the "Zwickau prophets," who laid claim to a Divine revelation which would have sanctioned the overthrow of all established order in Church and State. These fanatics found followers in Wittenberg, and in the confusion into which they were thrown Luther's friends appealed to their leader. His translation of the New Testament was completed, and Luther, still travelling as "Squire George," left the Wartburg on March 3rd, 1522. Four days later he re-entered Wittenberg.

In a very real sense the crisis of the Reformation had been reached at Wittenberg, and the future of the movement depended, humanly speaking, on the ability of its leader to build order out of the chaos which he found after his ten months' absence, when all that had been accomplished was on the point of being swept away by the fanaticism of the Zwickau prophets. On the Sunday after his return, Luther presented himself in the pulpit of the parish church, and began a series of discourses to show how the cardinal principle of the Reformation—salvation by free grace—had not only emancipated those who accepted it from the bondage of penances, absolutions, and rites enslaving to the conscience, but had brought them liberty and peace. But, he pointed out, abuse of the liberty which had been gained must mean strife,

and he pleaded that the Word should be freely preached, and allowed to do its work in winning the hearts of men. The issue was not left long in doubt, for Luther's sermons were seconded by Melanchthon's writings, and the fanaticism of Zwickau was routed.

Melanchthon's "Commonplaces," which had been published during the year of Luther's exile in the Wartburg, gathered together the doctrines of the Reformation, and with scholarly genius and fervent piety presented them as a complete system, based upon the teaching of Holy Scripture. The Reformers made excellent use of the printing press; and as their position was strengthened and assured at Wittenberg, they sent out copies of the New Testament and of Melanchthon's works. D'Aubigné says that whereas the number of German publications in 1517—the year of Luther's stand against indulgences—was thirty-seven, it was three hundred and forty-seven in 1522, and only two short of five hundred in 1523, when only twenty publications on the Papist side appeared.

As it had been with the works of Wycliffe and Huss before them, the writings of the Reformers found readers in other countries than those which saw their publication, but now with the added speed which the printing press had made possible. Lying as it did midway between England and Bohemia, the birthplaces of the Wycliffite and the Hussite movements, Wittenberg was admirably situated to be the centre of the Reformation; and Luther's writings rapidly

spread from there into France, England, Italy, and Spain, as well as to the whole German-speaking world.

The Diet of Regency, to which the Emperor had entrusted the affairs of the Empire during his absence in Spain, met at Nuremberg in the autumn of 1522, and in a brief, Pope Adrian urged the princes "to cut down this pestilential plant that was spreading its boughs so widely"—the "pestilential plant" being the work of Luther. He accompanied this injunction with an ample acknowledgment of the need for some reform in the Church. But the princes boldly told the Pope that in the then state of German feeling it would be madness to think of executing the Edict of Worms against Luther. Further, they demanded the calling of a General Council, in which the laity as well as the clergy should be heard, and appended a list of the "Hundred Grievances" which they and their subjects had suffered at the hands of the Papacy. Meanwhile, the princes agreed that the Gospel should continue to be preached until Luther had been refuted from Scripture. So far had the German Reformation proceeded, that in eighteen months from the registering of the Edict of Worms it had become impossible to execute it.

In the Low Countries, the hereditary dominions of the Emperor Charles, it was otherwise; and there, in July, 1523, Henry Voes, John Esch, and Lambert Thorn were burned at the stake in Brussels for fidelity to the faith they had learned from Luther. "Wherever," said Erasmus, "the

smoke of their burning blew, it bore with it the seed of heretics."

Again, in the spring of 1524, the Diet met at Nuremberg, but by this time Adrian VI. was dead, and had been succeeded on the papal throne by Cardinal Giulio de Medici, under the title of Clement VII. The new Pope and the Emperor both complained to the princes that the Edict of Worms was still unexecuted, and the reply of the princes was to promise that the edict should be rigorously enforced "as far as possible." Meanwhile, they repeated their demand for a General Council, and proceeded to summon a new Diet of the Empire to meet at Spires.

Withdrawing from the Diet, Cardinal Campeggio, who had been the papal legate, gathered round him at Ratisbon Ferdinand Archduke of Austria and other princes and prelates of South Germany, with whom he launched what came to be known as the "Ratisbon Reformation." But it was a truncated and much less than half-hearted Reformation, for it proposed to interpret Scripture by the opinions of Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory—the four chief Latin "Fathers" of the Church. But if the Ratisbon "Reformers" dealt tenderly with the ecclesiastical system, they were whole-hearted in their opposition to the Wittenberg movement, and they decided, so far as they could, to tolerate no change in the mass or in public worship, to recall the young men of their dominions who were studying at Wittenberg, to permit no married priests to live in their territories, and to

forbid the printing and circulation of Luther's books.

The proposal of the princes at Nuremberg to summon a new Diet at Spires, without regard to Emperor or Pope, aroused opposition from both, and Charles was not slow to assert his prerogative and forbid the assembly at Spires. The project was abandoned, but the effect of its suggestion was the creation of a breach in the unity of the German-speaking peoples which has endured to this day. On their part the Ratisbon Reformers were not slow in giving effect to their persecuting resolves. For circulating Luther's books, Gaspard Tauber, of Vienna, was decapitated, and his body afterwards thrown into the fire. At Buda, a Protestant bookseller was burned with his books piled up round him; and throughout Würtemberg and Bavaria there was a reign of terror. Well might Luther say, when he was told of these proceedings, "The blood he is shedding will choke the Pope at last, with his kings and kingdoms." But if some German princes displayed open hostility to the Reformation at this time, there were others who boldly took their stand on its side, and among these were Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, an ancestor of the present German Emperor; and in the wake of these princes followed the free cities of Nuremberg, Ulm, and Spires.

Just as the German princes were divided, the Reformers themselves began to show signs of difference of opinion. When he wrote "The

Babylonish Captivity of the Church" in 1520, Luther used terms which implied that the spiritual presence of Christ in the Sacrament was the only presence he recognised there. Possibly under the shock which he received from the extremes to which the Zwickau fanatics had pushed his doctrines, he held, four years later, what is known as the doctrine of impanation, or consubstantiation, according to which the body and blood of Christ are really and corporeally present in the elements, but the substance of the bread and wine also remains. Luther defended his view by a literal interpretation of the Master's words, "This is my body," and was opposed by Carlstadt, who had now removed to Oramund, whence he attacked Luther for his views, not only on this point but also on the toleration of images. Carlstadt grew so bitter against Luther, that the Elector Frederick banished him from Saxony, and he took his way into Switzerland, where he joined the Zwinglians shortly before the death of the Elector, which took place on May 4th, 1525.

In 1524 and 1525 occurred the great peasant rising, by which the serfs sought to secure the redress of grievances from which they and their fathers had long suffered. The presence of Munzer, one of the Zwickau fanatics, among the leaders of the movement gave an excuse to the Romanists for saying that the rising was fomented by the Reformers, and even Erasmus upbraided Luther thus: "We are now reaping the fruits that you have sown." The position of the Reformer was,

indeed, at this crisis a most difficult one, and he urged moderation on both princes and peasants, with the result that the extreme men in both camps regarded him with suspicion. The rising having been put down ruthlessly, the immediate gain seemed to be with the Pope, for some princes who had been inclined to support Luther now held aloof. All this time hostilities had been in progress between the Emperor and Francis I. of France, but the campaign was brought to an end by the defeat of the French at Pavia on February 24th, 1525, and by a treaty signed in the following January, by which the Emperor bound Francis to support him in stamping out heresy. The next step taken by Charles was to summon the Diet to meet at Augsburg, to take measures "to defend the Christian religion, and the holy rites and customs received from their ancestors, and to prohibit all pernicious doctrines and innovations."

The author of the Edict of Worms was now, to all appearances, master of Europe, and was evidently bent on crushing Luther and his movement. Yet within three months of the issue by the Emperor of a fresh decree to the princes to see the edict executed, Luther gave renewed assurance of his own faith in his position by deciding to take to himself a wife—by way, as he wrote to a friend, of showing that he retained nothing of his papistical life. His bride was Catherine von Bora, who had been one of a community of nine nuns at Nimptsch, near Grimma, in Saxony,

all of whom had learned from the study of the Scriptures that there was a better way of serving God than that of taking the veil.

Agreeably to the Imperial command, the Diet of the Empire met at Augsburg in November, 1525, but was so thinly attended that proceedings were adjourned to Spires, and there the princes assembled on June 26th, 1526. John, Duke of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, were the chief princes favourable to the Reformer, and the strength of their attachment to the cause was shown by their request, as soon as they entered the city, for a church in which the Gospel might be preached. Failing to get this, they opened their houses for worship, and everywhere their servants were to be seen with their liveries embroidered "V.D.M.I.Æ."—that is, *Verbum Domini manet in Æternum* ("The Word of the Lord endureth for ever").

In the Diet the Emperor was represented by his brother, Ferdinand of Austria, who was armed with a letter of instructions from Charles, which he was to read if he saw that the Diet inclined to a policy of hostility to the Edict of Worms. The proceedings had not gone far before the Diet declared that upon Charles lay the responsibility for the recent civil war, which the Diet traced to the Emperor's prohibition of the assembly at Spires, which had been suggested at Nuremberg. Further, a demand was made for the speedy convocation of a General or National Council to redress the public grievances. As to the Edict of Worms,

the Diet not only neglected to enforce it, but went so far as to declare that the Emperor himself would be of the same mind were he on the spot. When this point had been reached, Ferdinand produced his brother's letter, which had been written in the previous March, and read the Imperial message in which Charles said that he would consult with the Pope touching the calling of a General Council, but meanwhile he "willed and commanded that they should decree nothing contrary to the ancient customs, canons, and ceremonies of the Church, and that all things should be ordered within his dominions according to the form and tenor of the Edict of Worms."

For the moment the Reforming princes were struck with consternation; but a way of deliverance was opened up for them as unexpected as that of the Israelites on the shore of the Red Sea. Charles's letter had been written in the assurance that he and the Pope were working together; and now it was seen that these two enemies of the Reformation were no longer allies, for Clement absolved the French king from the oath of alliance with Charles which he had taken after the battle of Pavia, and joined with him and the King of England in a league against the Emperor. In the situation which was thus created, the Emperor might well need the swords of all German princes, Lutheran as well as Roman Catholic; so Ferdinand and his fellow-Romanists agreed with the Diet that it was necessary that a General or Provincial Council should be held in Germany within the

year; and, went on the decree, "Till a General or National Council can be had, all shall so behave themselves in their several provinces as that they may be able to render an account of their doings both to God and the Emperor." In other words, the Diet of the Empire gave its sanction for the first time in history to the principle, where ruler and ruled wished for it, of national independence of Rome in the matter of religion.

For three long years the war between the Emperor and the League continued. Rome was sacked by the Emperor's troops in 1527, and the Pope imprisoned; but the story of that campaign of carnage and pillage has no place in these pages except for its indirect effect upon Luther's work, in leaving him, and the princes who had embraced his cause, free to consolidate the work which had already been done. Hitherto Luther's task had been to preach; now he must organise into a Christian society or Church those who had been won by the evangelical teaching. Luther's principle with regard to the ministry was that "in cases of necessity all Christians may exercise all the functions of the clergy, but order requires the devolving of the office upon particular persons." Luther, Melanchthon, and two other commissioners, travelled throughout Saxony under the commission of the Elector John in 1526, reorganising the Church of the country on a model drawn up by Melanchthon. Ministers were appointed and consistories formed, the ministers were encouraged to marry, and manuals of the Reformed Faith were

written and circulated by Luther, who also drew up "Larger" and "Smaller" Catechisms. Luther's regard for the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers did not leave room for differences of grade among ministers of the Gospel; so there were no bishops in the Church of Saxony. In public worship the Latin liturgy was retained at first, with Lutheran hymns, but the preaching of the Word was put in the forefront of the Church's work. Other German States—Franconia, Lüneburg, East Friesland, Schleswig and Holstein, Silesia, and Prussia—followed the example of Saxony, and by 1528 Hesse had come into line with the surrounding territories.

Luther's tour through Saxony as a commissioner showed him not only the extent to which the people had turned from the Roman Church, but the danger from which the preaching of the Gospel had rescued the nation and the world. Writing to the Elector, he said, "If the old state of things had been suffered to reach its natural termination, the world must have fallen to pieces, and Christianity have been turned into atheism."

The truce which the war in Italy had given the Reformers was now coming to an end, for the Pope and the Emperor concluded a peace in June, 1528, and Charles, free once more to approach the question of religious order in Germany, issued letters convoking a Diet to meet at Spires on February 21st, 1529.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GREAT PROTEST.

The Diet of Spires (1529)—The Protest of the Lutheran Princes and Deputies—An Epoch-making Event—Differences between German and Swiss Reformers—Their Unity on all Points except the Doctrine of the Real Presence—"Confession" of the Protestant Princes and Deputies before the Diet of Augsburg—The "Refutation."

ALTHOUGH the Diet of Spires was summoned to meet in February, 1529, it was not until late in March that all the princes and deputies of the free cities were gathered under the presidency of Ferdinand of Austria, who took the chief place in the absence of his brother, the Emperor. But, when once the Diet was assembled, its members were not left in suspense as to the precise object of Charles in calling them together, for Ferdinand read a curt message from the Emperor conveying his will and command that the tolerating Edict of Spires, which had been adopted three years previously, should be repealed.

The Lutheran princes and deputies protested against the repeal of an edict which had been unanimously accepted, and declared that they would be justified in withstanding repeal, even by force. The edict had merely recognised the inherent right of each constituent State or city of the Empire to regulate its own internal affairs,

and some of the stoutest supporters of Rome and of the Emperor saw the constitutional danger which lay before them if the principle of Imperial interference with their internal affairs were sanctioned. A crafty and temporising middle policy was proposed and carried on April 13th. The Diet resolved, by a large majority, that until the meeting of a General Council the law and practice of the several States at that hour should be maintained, subject to the restoration of the Roman hierarchy and the mass, where they had been abandoned, and that no one should be permitted in the meantime either to abjure Popery or to embrace Lutheranism.

Well might the Lutheran princes have been excused if they had accepted this compromise, in face of what seemed the overwhelming force arrayed against them. Much might happen before a General Council could meet, and, until then, they and those of their subjects who shared their faith would at least be free to worship God in their own way. But they saw that the acceptance of the edict would imply an admission that Lutheranism had reached its utmost limits and must not be allowed to make fresh advance. They recognised that the movement must face a new crisis, greater than any which had been encountered since the Diet of Worms, eight years before ; and they addressed themselves to earnest deliberation directly the hurried vote of the new Diet had been taken.

Five days afterwards the Diet met again, on

April 18th, and King Ferdinand hastened to thank its members for voting the proposition, and promised that it should at once be published as an Imperial Edict, to which he counselled the Elector of Saxony and his friends to submit. Ferdinand refused to await the reply which the Elector promised to his demand for submission; nor did he return on the following day, when the Elector read the declaration which the Lutheran princes and deputies had drawn up. It was no light thing to withstand the Emperor and the Diet, and refuse to assent to the repeal of the Edict of 1526, but this the princes were prepared to do, "because," as the declaration ran,—

"this would be to deny our Lord Jesus Christ, to reject His Holy Word, and thus give Him just reason to deny us before His Father, as He has threatened. . . . Moreover, the new edict declaring that ministers shall preach the Gospel, explaining it according to the writings accepted by the Holy Christian Church, we think that, for this regulation to have any value, we should first agree on what is meant by the true and Holy Church. Now, seeing that there is great diversity of opinion in this respect; that there is no sure doctrine but such as is conformable to the Word of God; that the Lord forbids the teaching of any other doctrine; that each text of the Holy Scriptures ought to be explained by other and clearer texts; that this holy book is in all things necessary for the Christian, easy of understanding, and calculated to scatter the darkness; we are resolved, with the grace of God, to maintain the pure and exclusive preaching of His Holy Word, such as it is contained

in the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, without adding thereto aught that may be contrary to it. This Word is the only truth; it is the sure rule of all doctrine and of all life, and can never fail or deceive us. He who builds on this foundation shall stand against all the powers of hell, whilst all the human vanities that are set up against it shall fall before the face of God.

"For these reasons, most dear lords, uncles, cousins, and friends, we earnestly entreat you to weigh carefully our grievances and our motives. If you do not yield to our request, we protest by these presents, before God, our only Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Saviour, and who will one day be our Judge, as well as before all men and all creatures, that we, for us and for our people, neither consent nor adhere in any manner whatsoever to the proposed decree, in anything that is contrary to God, to His Holy Word, to our right conscience, to the salvation of our souls, and to the last decree of Spires."

Eight years before, Luther had stood alone at Worms; now princes, States, and cities took up and repeated the challenge he had thrown to Rome, and when the Diet held its last sitting on April 24th, the day after the edict was published, the princes renewed their protest, which was subscribed by John, Elector of Saxony; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Lüneburg, and the Count of Anhalt. Some of the chief cities joined the princes in their protestation, as Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Lindau, Kempten, Memmingen, Nordlingen,

Heilbronn, Isny, St. Gall, and Weissenburg; and from the day that the protest was read by the Elector to the Diet, those who favoured reform in the Church were known as "Protestants."

The Protest was the most significant event which had happened since Luther had stood before the Diet of Worms. It marked the final division of Christendom into two camps, and prepared the way for struggles and wars which devastated half Europe, rent the Empire asunder, and overthrew throne after throne, principality after principality. So little were these far-reaching consequences foreseen at the time, however, that Luther and his friends thought that the Diet of Spires had ended in nothing, and that the protest would at best only give the Reformers a little breathing-space.

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, took the lead in an endeavour to use this breathing-space to bring about an agreement among the Protestants on the only point upon which there was any serious difference of opinion—the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. For three or four years there had been a constant interchange of controversial writings on this subject between Wittenberg and Zurich, to the open delight of the Romanists and the chagrin of many Reformers, and especially of the impetuous Landgrave, who was anxious to consolidate all the forces of Protestantism against the common foes, the Emperor and the Pope. Philip's policy was the formation of a league, offensive and defensive, of the princes and cities adhering to the Protest; and it was doubtless

with a view to securing Zurich and other evangelical cities of Switzerland that he proposed, within a few weeks of the Diet of Spires, a conference between the theologians of Wittenberg and Zurich at his castle of Marburg.

Zwingli readily accepted the invitation, but Luther only agreed to attend with manifest reluctance, and frankly declared that he anticipated small success from the gathering. However, the disputants met at Michaelmas, 1529, Zwingli and Œcolampadius being the principal representatives of the Swiss Reformers, while Luther and Melanchthon were the chief spokesmen of Wittenberg.

When the public conference began, on October 2nd, Luther took a piece of chalk and traced some characters on the cover of the table round which the chief disputants were seated: "*Hoc est meum corpus*," he wrote. "These are the words of Christ," he said to his friends, "'*This is My body*.' From this rock no adversary shall dislodge me." In vain Zwingli and his friends maintained that these words, "This is My body," must be taken figuratively, and not literally, and that the bread and wine of the Supper cannot be the very body and blood of Christ, but are only the representatives of that body and blood, upon which those who in faith "take and eat" are spiritually fed.

Luther was as ready as Zwingli to repudiate the Romanist doctrine of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass, but, continually pointing to the words "This is My body," he argued that, while the bread and wine used in the ordinance

remained bread and wine, yet were the body and blood of the Lord present in the elements at the same time.

Agreement was impossible, for nothing but complete surrender on the part of Zwingli and his friends would satisfy Luther, who even refused to accept the pastor of Zurich and his fellow-Helvetians as brothers unless they would subscribe to the tenet of the Real Presence in the Communion. "We hold," said the Lutherans, "the belief of Christ's bodily presence in the Lord's Supper to be essential to salvation, and we cannot in conscience regard you as in the communion of the Church."

"In that case," replied Bucer, who was one of Zwingli's colleagues, "it were folly to ask you to recognise us as brethren. But we, though we regard your doctrine as dishonouring to Christ, now on the right hand of the Father, yet, seeing in all things you depend on Him, we acknowledge you as belonging to Christ. We appeal to posterity."

The moment was not one at which it was desirable for the Protestants to present anything but an undivided front. Across the Alps Emperor and Pope were conspiring against Luther and Zwingli alike; on the Danube the Turk was advancing against Germany; and in Germany itself was an enemy who attacked both Romanist and Protestant, for the plague was ravaging the land, and counted its victims in Marburg itself while the conference proceeded. The Landgrave

pleaded for a joint profession of faith from all the delegates, that the world might see the essential unity of the Protestant Churches. Both sides agreed, and to Luther was assigned the task of drawing up the articles of this Marburg Confession. "I will draft them," he said, "with a strict regard to accuracy, but I do not expect the Zwinglians to sign them."

But there was more unanimity between Wittenberg and Zurich than Luther had imagined, for to each of the fourteen articles in which he set forth his view of the Christian system, the Zwinglians cordially assented. All were agreed on the doctrines of the Trinity, the person and offices of Christ, the work of the Holy Spirit, original sin, justification by faith, the authority of the Scriptures, on rejection of tradition, on baptism, holiness, civil order. And even on the question of the Lord's Supper the article ran, "We all believe that the Sacrament of the altar is the Sacrament of the very body and blood of Jesus Christ; and that the spiritual manducation of this body and blood is specially necessary to every true Christian." Thus far, all the disputants could and did sign the articles. As to anything further, they agreed that "each party should treat the other with Christian charity, so far as each one's conscience would permit." If the conference had not achieved all that the Landgrave had hoped, it separated only when it had given to the world a striking proof of the essential oneness of Protestantism.

Within a few days of the closing of the Marburg Conference, the Turks sustained a serious defeat before Vienna, on October 16th, 1529, and Germany had for the time one foe the less to fear. But for the Protestants this meant rather an increase of anxiety, for it left the Emperor more free to turn his attention to his cherished plan of executing the Edict of Worms. Three deputies had been sent by the Protestant princes to lay before Charles the protest which had been read by the Elector at Spires, and these ambassadors were placed under arrest when they had read a reply to the Emperor's declaration of his intention of carrying out the policy approved by the Diet. When the news reached Germany, the Protestant leaders called a conference of the princes and deputies of the Protestant cities to meet at Schmalkald on November 29th, 1529. At this conference it was decided that agreement on doctrine must precede agreement for defence, and the Marburg Confession, revised by Luther and his friends in a strictly Lutheran sense, was presented for signature. This at once led to friction. Luther had from the first been opposed to the taking up of arms for the extension of Protestantism. Whether this or his opposition to the Zwinglian—which had now become generally known as the "Reformed" in opposition to the "Lutheran"—position on the Sacrament was the more powerful motive in his mind at this juncture it is impossible to say; but, humanly speaking, it is certain that a valuable spell of freedom from warfare was won

for German Protestantism by its inability to attain unanimity on doctrine at Schmalkald.

The Emperor's policy at this time was a remarkably complex one. He had but lately concluded a treaty with the Pope, after the sack of Rome and the ransom of the Pontiff, and he loved to pose as the defender of the Catholic Faith. But it is difficult to refrain from the belief that Charles was not anxious that the Church should altogether triumph within the Empire, lest it should grow too strong and leave the Pope, not Charles, master of Europe. Be that as it may, while Charles was on his way to Bologna to be crowned as Emperor by the Pope, he issued a summons for a new Diet to meet at Augsburg in April, 1530, and this summons was couched in the most pacific language.

In the spring of this year Charles V. returned to Germany, after an absence of nine years. As he halted at Innsbrück, in the Tyrol, many of the Romanist princes flocked thither to take counsel with the Emperor and his advisers as to the steps to be taken at the coming Diet, and rumours of these conferences found their way to Saxony. In alarm the Protestant princes asked if they should meet their adversary with arms. "No," replied Luther; "let no man resist the Emperor. If he demands a sacrifice, lead me to the altar."

He wrote to the princes pointing out to them that the cause of religion was to be defended, not by force of arms, but by sound arguments, by Christian patience, and by firm faith in the

omnipotent God. On the first Sunday in April the Elector gathered in the castle of Torgau the nobles and theologians who were to accompany him to the Diet at Augsburg, the chosen divines being Luther, Melanchthon, and Jonas. Before they set out on their journey, Luther preached from the appropriate text, "Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father who is in heaven."

At Coburg, then four days' journey from Augsburg, Luther was left behind, the castle being assigned to him as a residence, for it was felt that being under the ban of the Empire and the anathema of the Pope, he would hardly be safe in Augsburg during the session of the Diet.

Before the cavalcade set out from Torgau, the Elector pressed upon the divines the necessity of drawing up a clear summary of the Protestant Faith; and this was done by Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, and Pomeranus in the seventeen "Torgau Articles," which were afterwards enlarged and remodelled by Melanchthon to form the Augsburg Confession, which was read before the Diet. That the Confession had Luther's complete approval is seen from the letter with which he returned it to his friends at Augsburg: "I have read over Master Philip's apology; it pleases me right well, and I know not how to better or alter anything in it, and will not hazard the attempt, for I cannot tread so softly and gently. Christ our Lord help that it bear much and great fruit, as we hope and pray. Amen."

It was not until June 20th that the Diet was formally opened by the Emperor with a speech in which, after drawing a picture of the advance of the Turk, he commanded his hearers to execute the Edict of Worms. The Diet resolved to consider first the question of religion; and on the morning of June 23rd the Protestant princes assembled in the apartments of the Elector to sign the Confession which was to be presented to the Diet. When the Elector took up the pen to head the list of signatures, Melanchthon interposed with the objection that, as this was the voice of the Church, "it was the ministers of the Word, and not the princes of the State, who ought to appear in the matter."

"God forbid," replied the Elector, "that you should exclude me from confessing my Lord. My electoral hat and ermine are not so precious to me as the Cross of Jesus Christ."

So the first name appended to the document was that of John Duke of Saxony. The Margrave of Brandenburg and the Duke Ernest of Lüneburg followed. Philip of Hesse signed with the reservation that he, taking Zwingli's view, dissented from the article on the Lord's Supper. John Frederick of Saxony (son of the Elector), Francis Duke of Lüneburg, Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt, and the deputies of the cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen were the other of the nine original signatories to this famous Confession. Many other princes, deputies, and theologians afterwards signed, but the deed as read to the Diet contained

only these nine signatures—one and all, be it noted, those of laymen, as though to emphasise the work which Protestantism had already done in proclaiming the forgotten fact that the laity form part of the Church.

The Confession was to have been presented to the Diet on June 24th, but it was not until the day after, and in the Palatine Chapel, that it was read in the presence of the Emperor by the Elector's chancellor. In moderate but unmistakable language, the Confession re-affirmed and amplified the Marburg Confession, which was itself but a fuller statement of the doctrines set forth in the Wittenberg Theses and defended by Luther himself at Worms. Thirteen years before, a solitary monk had nailed his Confession on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg. Now, or before the Diet broke up, the new Confession, which was but his "writ large," was signed by five electors, thirty ecclesiastical princes, twenty-three secular princes, twenty-two abbots, thirty-two counts and barons, and the deputies of thirty-nine free and imperial cities. Well might the Elector's chancellor say, as he handed the Latin copy of the Confession to the Emperor's secretary, "By the grace of God this Confession shall prevail in spite of the gates of hell."

Many and conflicting were the counsels which were showered upon Charles after the presentation of the Protestant Confession. Some of the ecclesiastics were for concessions, a few for stern repression. Said the Archbishop of Salzburg, "The

Lutherans have laid before us a Confession written with black ink on white paper. Well, if I were Emperor, I would answer them with *red ink*." But the support given to the Confession threatened too serious a schism of the Empire to incline Charles lightly to resort to force; so negotiations were opened, first with the deputies of the cities and later with the princes, to endeavour to win their submission to the Imperial will; and meanwhile twenty Romanist theologians—chief among whom were Faber, Archbishop of Vienna, and Eck, Luther's old antagonist—were told off to write a refutation of the Confession. "Doctor," said the Duke of Bavaria to Eck, "can you refute that paper out of the Bible?" "No," he replied, "but it may easily be done from the Fathers and the Councils." "I understand," was the Duke's rejoinder; "the Lutherans are in Scripture, and we are outside."

Neither on the deputies of the free cities nor on the Protestant princes did the diplomacy of the Imperial court have any effect in weakening their resolution. The Elector of Saxony, threatened with the loss of his electoral hat, and with the letting loose against him of the whole power of the Empire, earned the title by which he is known in history—"John the Constant"—by the steadfast reply: "He had to crave of his Majesty that he would permit him and his to render an account to God in those matters that concerned their souls."

As for the "Refutation," the first product

of the score of divines was a ponderous tome of two hundred and eighty folios; and to Faber, Eck, and Cochlæus was assigned the new task of abridging it. This occupied another six weeks, and the interval was filled up with a vain attempt, by means of a commission consisting of seven Protestant and seven Romanist divines, to bring about reconciliation. Although Melanchthon took part in this commission, its proceedings were favoured neither by Zwingli nor by Luther. "They are preparing their return to Rome," said the pastor of Zurich, when he heard of the effort. And as for Luther, he wrote from Coburg to Melanchthon: "I learn that you have begun a marvellous work—namely, to reconcile Luther and the Pope; but the Pope will not be reconciled, and Luther begs to be excused. And if in despite of them you succeed in this affair, then, after your example, I will bring together Christ and Belial."

At last the "Refutation" was ready, and in full Diet it was read by order of the Emperor on September 3rd. In effect it maintained the Divine authority of the hierarchy, and the duty of absolute submission to it, in opposition to the Protestant acceptance of no infallible rule on earth but the Scriptures. The reading being finished, the Emperor addressed the Elector and the other Protestant princes, telling them that, their Confession having been refuted, it was their duty to restore peace to the Church and unity to the Empire by returning to the Roman obedience. When the recess of the Diet was promulgated, on

September 22nd, 1530, the Protestant princes were allowed until April 15th following to reconcile themselves to the Pope and to the rest of Christendom. Meanwhile they were to permit in their dominions no innovations in religion, no circulation of Protestant books, and no attempts at proselytism, and they were to assist the Emperor in reducing Anabaptists and Zwinglians.

CHAPTER XIV.

ZWINGLI AND THE REFORMED CHURCH.

A Disputation at Baden—Trouble with Anabaptist Fanatics—A Conference at Berne—Dramatic Scene in the Cathedral—The Reformation at Basle—Erasmus Quits the City—War between the Popish and Protestant Cantons—Death of Zwingli.

At the Marburg Conference Luther had refused the title of "brothers" to Zwingli and his associates in the Swiss Reformation, but the essential oneness of the two movements, Swiss and German, had been made abundantly manifest. Leaving for a while the Lutheran Church, we must again take up the threads of the story of the parallel movement in Switzerland. In a former chapter we traced the dawn of the light, and saw it spread over the canton of Zurich, named after the second city of the Swiss Confederation.

It was not to be expected that the Romanist ecclesiastics in the Four Forest Cantons, where the Reformed Faith had been least appreciated as yet, would be content to allow Zwingli to carry all before him without an effort to stay his advance. At a Diet held at Lucerne early in 1526, it was resolved to hold a public disputation to confound the innovators. Dr. Eck, who had confronted Luther at Leipzig, was summoned from Ingolstadt

to confute Zwingli, on whom he professed to look down as the shepherd's son who "no doubt has milked more cows than he has read books."

Neither Berne nor Basle was prepared to open its doors for the disputation, so Baden was chosen as the place of meeting. The magistrates of Zurich refused to sanction Zwingli's venturing there, where he would have been in the hands of enemies, and the chosen champions of the Reformers were Œcolampadius from Basle, and Haller from Berne. As at Leipzig, Eck was violent in his manner, and appealed to the decrees of the Councils and the writings of the Fathers in support of his arguments. The chief points debated were the Real Presence, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Adoration of the Virgin and of Saints, the Worship of Images, and Purgatory; and for eighteen days the disputation proceeded. Every day Zwingli was informed of the progress of the debate, and he wrote frequently to his colleague who was publicly defending the cause so dear to both of them. Although he might not bodily be present, in spirit he was certainly with the defenders of the Reformation. At the close of the disputation Eck and Thomas Murner, of Lucerne, who was his lieutenant, loudly claimed that they had routed Œcolampadius, and the judgment of the assembled deputies of the Cantons was that they had demolished the Zwinglian heresy. How far this was from being a true statement of the situation was seen from the fact that the close of the disputation was almost immediately followed by a notable accession to the

strength of the Reform movement by the adhesion of Berne and Basle, which had hitherto stood apart.

About this time Zwingli and the Swiss Reformers were sadly hindered in their work by an outbreak of that same Anabaptist fanaticism which had occasioned such trouble to Luther and his colleagues in Germany. The false interpretation which these folk put upon Scripture led them to such disregard of the civil law as brought them beneath the arm of the magistracy. Zwingli's advice to the Council was to rely upon argument rather than upon force, and he himself held repeated disputations with the leaders of the Anabaptists. To use his own vigorous expression, the battle with these Anabaptists "cost him more sweat" than his fight with the Papacy; but in leading him and his fellow Reformers to study even more closely than before the Scriptural foundations of their Church, the incursion of these fanatics proved a blessing both to Zwingli and to the Reformed Church.

For some time before the disputation at Baden, the Canton of Berne had seemed to halt between two opinions; but in 1527, as though to give the lie to the loud boasts of Eck and Murner as to their success at Baden, the Great Council decided to copy the example of Zurich and hold a conference on religion, "that the truth might not be concealed . . . . and that a worship in conformity with the Holy Scriptures might be planted and observed."

All the cantons and free cities of the Confederacy were invited to send their theologians and learned men of both parties to the conference, that its outcome might be the profession of a common faith by the whole Confederacy. But the bishops and the Roman Catholic cantons protested against the holding of the conference, and even the Emperor Charles sent a letter exhorting the Bernese to abandon their design and await the assembling of a General Council. To all protests the reply of the Bernese was, "We change nothing in the twelve articles of the Christian Faith; we separate not from the Church whose Head is Christ; what is founded on the Word of God will abide for ever; we shall only not depart from the Word of God."

Haller, who had hitherto been the champion of the Reformation in Berne, sent an urgent invitation to Zwingli, whom he styled their "best-beloved brother and champion in the cause of Christ," to lead their party in the conference; and the summons did not fall on deaf ears, for Zwingli, with a strong band of friends and protectors, entered Berne on January 4th, 1528, to find Œcolampadius already there from Basle, and Bucer and Capito from Strasburg. Neither Eck nor Murner was there, for Eck refused to take part in a disputation in which no proof was to be admitted unless it could be shown to exist in the Bible.

For twenty days the disputation was carried on by the assembly of three hundred and fifty repre-

sentatives, and the Reformers had an easy victory on all the ten propositions set down for discussion, which were so drawn as to include all the points at issue between the two Churches. When the two days' discussion on the mass was ended, Zwingli passed from the Church of the Cordeliers, where the disputation was held, to the cathedral, that he might proclaim from its pulpit the truth he had just demonstrated. Reciting the creed, Zwingli said, "He ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead." Quoting these words slowly and impressively, he continued, "These three articles cannot stand with the mass." When Zwingli began to speak, a priest, arrayed in all the sacerdotal vestments, was about to begin the service of the mass at the altar in one of the side chapels. As the preacher's words reached him, conviction flashed into his soul, and, stripping off his priestly robes, he turned to Zwingli, and, in the hearing of the whole congregation, said, "If the mass rest on no better foundation, I will neither read it now nor read it more."

When the disputation was closed, the magistrates assembled the ecclesiastics of the city and canton, and received from the great majority of them a hearty acquiescence in the acceptance of the Reformed propositions. The mass was declared abolished in Berne; in all those parishes whose priests had adopted the Reformed confession the altars and images were pulled down; the monks

and nuns were set free from the conventual establishments; and on Easter Sunday the Lord's Supper was administered in the cathedral of Berne in the simple fashion advocated by Zwingli and practised at Zurich.

The triumph of the Reformers at Berne quickened the zeal of the faithful and aroused the fears of the Romanists over the whole of Switzerland; and it was not long before its effects were felt with peculiar force at Basle, which, next to Berne and Zurich, was the chief city of the Confederacy, and was specially important as the principal seat of learning. Here Capito and Hedio had preached the evangel for some years with growing success, and here also the learned Œcolampadius—who was to Zwingli what Melanchthon was to Luther—had been patiently working. The disputation at Berne seems to have been the signal for a decisive movement at Basle; and soon after the return of the delegates from Berne, a petition was presented to the Senate for the abolition of the mass and the silencing of the Popish preachers "until they had proved their doctrine from the Word of God."

Many of the magistrates of Basle, and not a few of the teachers in the university, hesitated about taking a step which would place the city on the side of the Reformation. As a consequence, there was no such rapid and peaceful change as had taken place at Berne, and it was only after long months of disquiet, of clamour and counter-clamour, that the

battle was won. At Zurich and at Berne the magistrates led the movement for Reform, but at Basle they had to be driven by the populace; and it was not until the Reformers, who were the vast majority of the population, had taken up arms, and the burgomaster had fled down the Rhine, that the Senate gave way. This was on February 9th, 1529, and the strong feeling of the people was shown by the promptitude with which they hastened to the cathedral and demolished altars, pictures, and images. The Senate sent messengers to ask what the citizens were doing. "We are doing in an hour," was the reply, "what you have not been able to do in three years."

Considering the strong feelings which were engendered, and the weary months of negotiation and demonstration, it is notable that the historian Ruchat is able to write: "The commencement of the Reformation at Basle was not a little tumultuous, but its issue was happy, and all the troubles that arose about religion were terminated without injury to a single citizen in his life or goods."

The success of the Reformation in Basle was followed by the exodus of its bishop and of the monks and of many professors and men of letters. Chief among these last was Erasmus, that monarch of the schools, to whom, if only for his edition of the Greek New Testament, the Reformation owed so much. But the great scholar was not prepared to throw in his lot wholly with the Reformation, and when it triumphed in Basle Erasmus left the city, though with unfeigned regret.

When Basle and Berne joined the Reformers, the Four Forest Cantons, where the Popish position was strongest, realised that they were inferior to the adherents of the Reformation both in men and money. By their membership of the Swiss Confederation the Four Cantons were pledged to seek no foreign allies without the consent of the members of the Confederation ; but religious animosity overcame the feeling of nationality, and they made overtures to Austria for help. A league was concluded at Waldshut on April 23rd, 1529, by which Austria promised to send the Cantons six thousand foot and four hundred horse, with the proper complement of artillery, should it become necessary to declare war ; while on their side the cantons undertook to put down any attempts to form new sects within their borders, and on the outbreak of war to blockade the Reformed cantons.

But the Truth knows nothing of provincial frontiers, and the Reformation continued to make itself felt within the territory of the Four Cantons, whose magistrates, emboldened by the Austrian alliance, harried the confessors of the pure faith with fines, imprisonment, torture, and death. Only a month after the conclusion of the alliance with Austria, Pastor Keysen was seized as he was proceeding to his labour, between the lakes of Zurich and Wallenstadt, and carried to Schwyz. Here he was condemned to death, and, despite the intercession of the cities of Zurich and Glarus, he was burned at the stake. It is said that when he heard his sentence he gave way to tears ; but his

faith was quickened before the summons to the stake came, and amid the flames he praised his Lord for accounting him worthy of the honour of dying for the Gospel.

This was only one of many proofs that the Forest Cantons were determined to make a bold stand for the old faith, and Zwingli perceived that the crisis which he had long foreseen had now come. In view of this he had proposed two years earlier to his fellow Reformers a Christian co-burghery, which should link into a new federation for self-defence the professors of the Reformed faith. This federation was now complete; and when the news of the Austrian alliance was received, a Diet was held at Zurich at which it was decided to send ambassadors to call upon the Forest Cantons to withdraw from the Austrian alliance, to cease their intolerant treatment of the Reformers, and to silence the ribald Murner, who was daily issuing vituperative lampoons concerning Zwingli and his fellow-workers. Only at Schwyz did the Council receive the deputies, who were insulted and flouted throughout their mission. Zwingli was one of the first to appreciate the meaning of the attitude taken up by the Popish cantons, and, confident in the strength of the Reformers, he called for open war. "Let us," he said, "attack the Four Cantons on several points at once. Let us convince them that resistance is useless. Our present peace is only war, with this difference—that it is the blood of one side only that is being spilt. Our war will be peace." On June 3rd, 1529,

Zurich proclaimed war on Schwyz, and six days later a strong body of four thousand picked soldiers marched out of Zurich, with Zwingli among them, carrying across his shoulder the halberd which he had borne at Marignano in his youth.

On the frontier of Schwyz the invaders were stayed by a request for negotiations. In point of fact, the Four Cantons were not prepared to fight, for Austria was unable to send the promised help because of pressure from the Turks. This was hardly realised by all the Reformers; and when the negotiations were spread over a fortnight, the natural reluctance of Swiss to fight Swiss had time to tell, and in the end peace was patched up without a blow being struck. The Forest Cantons promised to abandon the Austrian alliance and to pay the expenses of the expedition from Zurich. At the same time they agreed to allow the frontier parishes to choose by a majority of votes to which religion they would conform. In a sense, the pact was favourable to the Reformers, but Zwingli accepted it with reluctance, feeling that the bigotry of the Papists had not been effectually curbed, and that the struggle would have to be renewed as soon as the Forest Cantons were better prepared for war.

Zwingli used the interval which the peace gave to mature certain far-reaching plans, for the execution of which the time was not yet ripe. He dreamed dreams of extending over the whole of the Reformed Christendom that Christian co-burghery which he had already established in

Switzerland, and he entered into correspondence with Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and other princes and statesmen who were on the side of Reform. He divined the project of the Emperor to divide the Protestants and crush them piecemeal, and he found in the Landgrave a ready listener to his ambitious counter-scheme of a widespread federation. While these negotiations were in progress, Zwingli did not overlook the necessity of consolidating the position of the Reformation in his own Switzerland, and synods were held in various parts of the country to perfect the autonomy of the Church and provide for the regular and constant preaching of the Gospel.

But now the Emperor was in Germany, Ferdinand of Austria was relieved from the immediate pressure of the Turk, and signs were not wanting that the Forest Cantons were conscious of the proximity of help if occasion required it. Persecution of the Reformers began again, and an appeal to the Diet of the Swiss Confederation at the beginning of 1531 proved of no effect, for no decision was reached on the religious question. A few months later a Diet of the Reformed Cantons again asked Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne to cease from persecution, and at least to tolerate the preaching of the Reformed doctrine.

Zwingli felt that remonstrance would be of no avail, but he found that there was no longer absolute unity among the Reformers. Zwingli was the great opponent of foreign military service for the men of Switzerland, while there were some

among his own followers who were reluctant to forego the pensions and rewards which the recruiting brought to them. The existence of this feeling, as well as the dislike to a war with other Swiss, weakened the Reformers.

Despite these elements of dissension, Zwingli's advice was accepted, and armed intervention was decided upon in the summer of 1531. When, two years before, hostilities seemed imminent, the Forest Cantons had proposed to blockade the Reformers. Now this policy was reversed, and it was against the Forest Cantons that a blockade was instituted, though with misgivings on the part of Zwingli and Zurich, on account of the suffering which this manœuvre, with its consequent cutting short of supplies, inflicted upon the innocent as well as the guilty. A Diet was held in the middle of June, at which the Reformers refused to raise the blockade until the cantons gave a guarantee for the free preaching of the Gospel; and the Diet broke up without any settlement having been reached.

Meanwhile the Council of Zurich was daily showing greater vacillation and feebleness, until at length Zwingli asked for his dismissal, declining longer to be responsible for the mischief which he was powerless to prevent owing to the presence on the Council of men who favoured foreign service, and who therefore refused their whole-hearted support to Zwingli and his policy. The Council would not hear of his withdrawal, and for a few days at the end of July it seemed as if the old

resolution and unity had been restored to the Reformers. But this did not last, and dissension again began to lift its head. The Protestant cantons would neither enforce the blockade nor sanction its being raised; and when at last, at the beginning of October, the Forest Cantons declared for open war, and marched towards the Protestant frontier, the Reformers were altogether unprepared to meet them. On October 9th the news of the advance of their foes reached Zurich, and next day a weak vanguard was sent to oppose them. But it was only after a tedious debate in the Council that it was decided to levy *en masse;* and when the tocsin sounded next morning, barely one in six of the men who should have assembled answered the roll, but among them was Zwingli, who had been appointed field-chaplain.

On October 11th, the two forces came into conflict at Kappel, and the Reformers, outnumbered and out-generalled, were disastrously beaten, with heavy loss. But the chief loss was that of Zwingli, who was struck down by a stone as he was stooping over a dying soldier. Recovering a little, he rose, but a hostile spear dealt him a fatal wound. "What matters it?" were his last words. "They may kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul." Next day the body of Zwingli was found on the battlefield by the victors, who burned it, together with a pig, and the mingled ashes were thrown to the winds!

Zurich made peace with the Forest Cantons, stipulating only for toleration, and the Papists

everywhere rejoiced when they heard of the victory of Kappel. To them, as well as to many of the Reformers, it seemed as though the tide had turned ; and Ferdinand of Austria urged his brother the Emperor to come to the aid of the Forest Cantons, and, beginning at the Alps, to traverse Christendom, purging it of heresy and restoring the dominion of the Pope.

As for Zwingli, his work was done. He had laid broad and deep the foundations of Protestantism in Switzerland, and a mightier than he was to build upon those foundations, although when the pastor of Zurich fell it seemed as though the hope of Reform fell with him.

CHAPTER XV.

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE EMPEROR.

The Protestant Princes Coalesce—The Emperor Comes to Terms with Them—Further Adhesions to the League of Schmalkald—Luther Revisits his Birthplace—His Death—The Council of Trent—War Between the Emperor and the League—The Augsburg Interim—The Peace of Passau and the Treaty of Augsburg.

When we turned aside to trace the tragedy which closed Zwingli's work in Zurich, we left the Emperor and the princes at Augsburg, and Luther in the castle at Coburg, in constant touch with his friends who had just read in the presence of Charles the historic Confession of Augsburg. The signatures to this document showed both Protestant and Papist how far the Reform movement had advanced since Luther stood alone before the Diet of Worms, only nine years earlier. In the recess of the Diet at Augsburg, the Emperor had told the Protestant princes and deputies that their Confession had been refuted, and, under pain of Imperial ban and of war, he had warned them to be reconciled to the Church of Rome before April 15th, 1531. But so little faith had Charles that this would be done, that his edict went on to forbid any further conversions to Protestantism, and ordered the rebuilding of the monasteries and religious

houses, and the re-establishment of the old ceremonies and rites which had been abandoned; and the Emperor immediately began to lay his plans in view of a probable war with the Protestant princes.

On their part, the Protestants felt that, not only to defend their religion but also to protect their constitutional rights as sovereign princes, they must combine for mutual help. About this time it became known that Charles had nominated his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans, a title which was held to designate the future Emperor, and constitutionally could only be conferred by the Diet. Resistance to this encroachment on their rights as Estates of the Empire gave a political motive to the princes to form the League of Schmalkald, under which they bound themselves to stand by one another in the defence of their faith and liberties, and to resist any attempt to carry out by arms the edict of Augsburg. Now as ever, Luther was opposed to any association of the cause of pure religion with politics, and he particularly dreaded any appeal to arms; but his protests against the League were overborne by the assurance that the pact was purely defensive. The signatories to the Augsburg Confession were the original members of the League; but they were soon joined by other princes and cities, and even the Kings of France and England were invited to join. These monarchs declined to take part in the movement, and the proffered alliance of the Swiss Protestants was refused because of

their attitude on the question of the Lord's Supper.

The formation of the Schmalkald League would probably have little affected Charles's plans for crushing Protestantism if it had stood alone; but the spring of 1531, which was to have seen the submission of the Protestants, brought the Emperor face to face with other disquieting elements. He found that some of the Roman Catholic princes of the Empire were opposed to his action in appointing his brother King of the Romans, and could not be relied upon to give him whole-hearted support. Moreover, France was again threatening hostilities, and the Turk was in force on the Eastern frontier of the Empire. So instead of issuing his ban against the princes of the League, Charles entered into negotiations with them; and, after many delays, these negotiations resulted in the conclusion of an agreement at Nuremberg on July 23rd, 1532, which was ratified at the Diet of Ratisbon on August 3rd in the same year. By this pact the Lutherans were granted the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion until such time as a General Council or an Imperial Diet should decide the religious question. And in return for this tolerance, the Protestants promised to support the Emperor against the Turk.

For Luther and his fellow-workers at Wittenberg the years which immediately followed the Diet of Augsburg were a period of steady and unremitting work in completing the organisation of the Lutheran Church. Regular visitations of all

the parishes were instituted, and the utmost care was taken to ensure the purity of the doctrine taught by the pastors. Luther himself regarded as his chief task at this time the completion of his translation of the Bible into German; but he was also untiring in his lecturing in the university, in his preaching and writing. This is not a life of the great Reformer, and space cannot be afforded for even a list of his works. Controversy was instinctive with him, and he rarely, if ever, allowed any antagonist, whether prince or priest, to lack an answer to any onslaught on the Faith. Even after Zwingli's death, Luther continued to attack the Swiss Sacramentarians, although in the closing years of his life he came nearer to understanding their position—without abating one jot of his own view of it—than in his earlier conflict with them.

The moving spirit in the League of Schmalkald was, without doubt, the Landgrave of Hesse, and it was by his armed intervention in 1532 that the Duchy of Würtemberg—which had been annexed by the Emperor to Austria—was restored to the banished Duke and his son, under whom it became a Protestant State and joined the League. Then the death in 1539 of George, Duke of Albertine-Saxony, who had been one of Luther's most bitter opponents alike in the Diet and in a war of pamphlets, led to the accession of his brother Henry, and this Duchy also entered the Protestant League. In this same year, 1539, Brandenburg came in; Brunswick followed three

years later, and then the Protestant States extended in an almost unbroken line from the shores of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine. The movement for Reform made itself felt even in Austria, in Bavaria, in the Palatinate, and in the ecclesiastical Electorate of Cologne. As tidings of each new acquisition to the League reached the Emperor, his desire deepened for the opening of the decisive conflict with Protestantism, upon which he was resolved to enter as soon as his relations with France and the pressure of the Turk would permit.

Meanwhile, both Roman Catholic and Protestant were deeply moved by the calling of the Council of Trent, which, after years of negotiation, was summoned to meet at the end of the year 1545 by Paul III., who had succeeded Clement VII. on the papal throne in 1534. While the Council was in prospect, there was much debate among the Protestants as to the advisability of taking part in it, Luther being one of those who urged the taking of this step, on the condition that the Council should be in reality a free one; but the princes decided against the sending of representatives, as they had no guarantee that the Council would be free, or would regulate its decisions on matters of faith by the Word of God only.

At one time Luther had dreams of appearing in person at the Council, which was openly called by the Pope to put down the "heresy" of which Luther was regarded as the author. But before the Council—which assembled in 1545—had settled

down to work, the tidings was spread abroad that the great Reformer was dead.

For many years he had suffered from an internal malady, and his later labours had been frequently interrupted by long and painful illnesses. In January, 1546, he was asked by the Counts of Mansfeld to arbitrate in a boundary dispute; and, although he was in poor health, he accepted the invitation because it would give him an opportunity of revisiting his birthplace, where he quickly disposed of the business which had occasioned his journey. The miner's son was the guest of the princes, and was greeted in his birthplace by a salute of cannon and the ringing of the bells in all the churches. He was now sixty-three years old, and his enormous labours and his cruel malady had sapped his strength. On February 17th he dined and supped with his friends, including his three sons, John, Martin, and Paul. After supper he retired to pray, as was his custom, and was seized with violent pains, which increased despite the efforts of his friends for his relief. Feeling that his end was near, the Reformer addressed himself in simple faith to the God whom he had served so valiantly, concluding an impassioned prayer with the words, "O heavenly Father, though I be snatched out of this life, though I must now lay down this body, yet know I assuredly that I shall abide with Thee for ever, and that no man can pluck me out of Thy hands." As the night wore on, his companion Jonas asked him, "Reverend father, wilt thou stand by Christ and the doctrine

thou hast preached?" He uttered an audible "Yes," and then fell asleep. In that sleep his spirit passed, on the morning of February 18th, 1546.

Four days later, in the castle church of Wittenberg, at the gate of which he had nailed his Theses, his body was laid to rest in the presence of the Elector John Frederick and the men who had laboured with him in raising the standard of Protestantism.

Although Luther was dead, Lutheranism was very much alive, and the Emperor Charles abated none of his zeal for its suppression. A Council was already in session at Trent which was to settle and declare the mind of the Church; but the Emperor could not wait until its work was done. At an early stage in its proceedings the Council had adopted a decree which threw down the gage to the Protestants by a declaration that the traditions of the Fathers are of equal authority with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and that no one is to presume to interpret Scripture in a sense different from that of the Church. This was to prejudge the Protestants, whose appeal was to the infallible authority of the Word of God. Nor was this the only sign that their enemies were gathering against the Protestants.

Charles, having made peace with the King of France and bought off the Turk for a time by a subsidy from Austria, entered into a new alliance with the Pope, and set about preparing in earnest for a campaign against the Schmalkald

League. When he actually began his military operations, he professed to be actuated by a desire to crush the political power of the League, which he regarded as an empire within the Empire; and he succeeded in playing successfully on the jealousies of some of the Protestant princes and cities, so that from the outset the Reformers were divided among themselves. Some remained neutral when the inevitable war broke out; and a few, while still maintaining their Protestantism, even sided with the Emperor. Chief of these latter was Maurice, Duke of Albertine-Saxony, the son and successor of Henry, the brother of Luther's old antagonist Duke George, who had brought the Duchy into the League. Although Maurice had married a daughter of the Landgrave, and was head of a younger branch of the family of the Elector John Frederick, he gave in his allegiance to the Emperor when Charles, on July 20th, 1546—five months after Luther's death—issued the Imperial ban of outlawry against the Elector and the Landgrave.

This ban Maurice undertook to execute against the Elector, who set out at once from the camp of the League to defend his Duchy. Pursued by the Emperor's troops, the Elector was overtaken and routed at Mühlberg, on the Elbe, on April 24th, 1547. He was deprived of his Electorate and thrown into prison, his dominions being divided between Maurice (upon whom the electoral hat was also bestowed) and the Emperor's brother Ferdinand. Philip of Hesse shortly afterwards

surrendered, and the humiliation of the Protestants was completed when the Elector and the Landgrave were led captive in the Emperor's train from city to city.

A favourite device with Charles, as we have seen, was to put forward some scheme of compromise on religion until such time as a General Council could decide the matters at issue; and such a compromise he now brought about in what is known as the Augsburg Interim, which was decreed at a Diet in that city on May 15th, 1548. Although professing to be a "halfway house" between Rome and Wittenberg, it proclaimed the supremacy of the Pope, and declared for transubstantiation, the mass, auricular confession, and the sole right of the Church to interpret Scripture.

The reception of this remarkable document was very varied. In Northern Germany it was openly resisted; and in Central Germany, although Maurice had it proclaimed in his dominions, and although Melanchthon and the Wittenberg divines, professing to believe that it only differed from the Augsburg Confession in unessential points, accepted it for the time, it was virtually ignored. But in Southern Germany the Interim was rigidly enforced, and Protestant magistrates and pastors were superseded by Papist officials and priests. Many were the privations and penalties under which the faithful had to suffer in these dark days.

Efforts were made to induce the imprisoned Elector John Frederick of Saxony to accept the Interim, and hopes of restored liberty were dangled

before him to induce him to endorse the Imperial creed. But in noble words he put the temptation from him. "God," said he, "has enlightened me with the knowledge of His Word; I cannot forsake the known truth unless I would purchase for myself eternal damnation."

With Luther dead and the League at his feet, it seemed as though Charles had indeed reached the goal for which he had so long striven. But his very success proved his undoing, for it awoke in the mind of his ally the Pope a dread lest the Emperor might become master, not only of Germany, but even of Christendom. An Emperor who was the servant of the Church was one thing; but an Emperor who could dictate to the Church was another. So Paul recalled the troops which he had lent to the Emperor, and, on the pretext that sickness had broken out in Trent, ordered the removal of the Council to Bologna.

In Germany, too, there was a natural revulsion of feeling against the Emperor and his treatment of the Protestant princes and religion. The same Maurice of Saxony whose defection had largely contributed to the defeat of the Schmalkald League and to the success of the Emperor was now the chief instrument of Charles's discomfiture. In 1550, although he was at the head of a large force besieging Magdeburg, which was a Protestant stronghold, on behalf of the Emperor, he was secretly in correspondence with the Protestant princes and with the King of France. Two years later, Maurice's plans were ripe for execution. He published a

manifesto declaring that he had taken up arms for the Protestant religion and the liberties of Germany, and for the deliverance of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse from a long and an unjust imprisonment. Then he set out, as he said, to catch the "fox in his hole" at Innsbrück, in the Tyrol.

Before Maurice reached the Imperial retreat, all Germany had risen in his support, and Charles with difficulty made his escape over the mountains to Villach, in Carinthia, a few hours before Maurice entered with his troops. From that day the Emperor's power was broken, and within four years he formally abdicated the Imperial dignity and resigned all his other dignities to his son, the husband of Queen Mary of England, and the future master of the Spanish Armada.

After the flight of Charles, the Estates of the Empire met in July, 1552, and agreed upon the Peace of Passau; the main article of which was that Protestants should enjoy the free and undisturbed possession of their religion until such time as a Diet of all the States should effect a permanent arrangement.

Three years later, the agreement was ratified and enlarged by the Treaty of Augsburg, which gave legal recognition to the existence within the Empire of the Augsburg Confession side by side with the creed of the Roman Catholic Church, thus going far towards recognising the right of the individual conscience, and abandoning the mediæval theory of the right of the State to determine the belief of all its subjects.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FAITH IN FRANCE.

Early Years of John Calvin—The First Protestant Martyrdom in Paris—Calvin's Student Days—The French King's Tortuous Diplomacy—Calvin Resigns his Chaplaincy—Fierce Persecution in France—Calvin's "Institutes."

"HERE is a writing which has hands and feet. I rejoice that God raises up such men. They will continue what I have begun against Antichrist, and by the help of God they will finish it." So wrote Martin Luther a few years before his death, when one of Calvin's books was put into his hand. To Calvin, the third and in many respects the greatest of the protagonists of Protestantism in the sixteenth century, we must now turn.

Although his name is indissolubly associated with Geneva, he was a native of France, and was born on July 10th, 1509, at Noyon, in Picardy, where his father was apostolic notary and secretary to the bishop. It was the father's hope that by the influence of the bishop the lad would achieve preferment in the Church, and his wish seemed likely to be gratified when, at the age of twelve, he was appointed to the chaplaincy of La Gésine, a small church in the neighbourhood. It was by no means unusual in that age to assign ecclesiastical

offices, much more important and lucrative than the chaplaincy of an obscure village, to boys in their teens; and it occasioned no surprise when John Calvin's schooldays were temporarily interrupted in order that, in the presence of the bishop, he might be admitted to his new office. He was not qualified to take orders, but his head was solemnly shorn, as a symbol that he was already a servant of the Church, and was destined to become one of the clergy.

The plague drove him from home to Paris when he was fourteen. A Romish historian quaintly puts it that, "fleeing from one pestilence, he caught another." Already in the French capital Protestantism had found champions, when Calvin entered the city in 1523. Jacques Lefèvre, one of the professors at the Sorbonne, the theological college of the University of Paris, had translated the New Testament into French, and about the time of Calvin's entry into Paris the work was put into circulation. Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, who saw some rays of evangelical truth, circulated Lefèvre's version of the New Testament, and it seemed as though, under his protection and that of Margaret of Angoulême, sister of Francis I., and afterwards Queen of Navarre, a great future lay before the Reformed Church which had gathered at Meaux. But the Sorbonne, fearing the effect of the evangelical teaching that Lefèvre was drawing from the freshly opened fount of Scripture, stirred up the authorities, lay as well as clerical. The bishop saved his mitre by apostasy, Lefèvre was driven

JOHN CALVIN.
From the Painting by R. Houston.

into exile, and at the same time his disciple Farel —who was afterwards to be the fellow-worker of Calvin—turned his steps towards Switzerland. For the moment Rome seemed to triumph; but it was in France as it was with the infant Church: "They that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the Word."

Nor was the sterner witness of martyrdom lacking. Meaux gave its victims, too poor to take refuge in flight; and of one of these, a humble man named Denis, it is related that he was visited in prison by the Bishop Briçonnet, who had once been the hope of the Reformers. He urged Denis to abjure the Gospel he had formerly preached to him, and was shamed by the prisoner's quoting Christ's words: "Whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father who is in heaven."

The winter of 1524 saw the first Protestant martyrdom in Paris, in the person of Pavanne, one of Lefèvre's disciples, who was apprehended for teaching that the Virgin Mary could not save souls, and that Jesus Christ was the only Saviour. For this "blasphemy" he was given the alternative of a public recantation or death at the stake. He chose the former, and after doing public penance he was thrown into his prison again; and there the horror of his denial of his Lord filled his soul, and he renewed his profession of faith, with the result that he was hurried to the stake. At the foot of the pile he spoke with such force that a divine said: "I wish Pavanne had

not spoken, even if it had cost the Church a million of gold."

It was in the midst of this persecution that Calvin entered the school, or college, of La Marche, in Paris, where he had for his master Mathurin Cordier, a brilliant scholar, to whose teaching Calvin largely owed that beautiful style which in after years made him the father of the modern French language. In dedicating one of the books of his later life to his old master, Calvin took occasion to attribute to the lessons of Cordier all the progress he had made in the higher branches of study. If posterity, he says, derives any fruit from his works, he would have it known that it is indebted for it—in part, at least—to Cordier.

When he was seventeen, Calvin passed into the College of Montaigu, one of the seminaries then existing in Paris for the training of priests, and was set to the same round of scholastic philosophy and theology which Luther found so unsatisfying at Erfurt. The young student must have witnessed some of the many martyrdoms which took place at this time in Paris, and his inquiring mind was sharpened by what he saw, and by what he heard from his cousin Olivetan, who was then living in the capital, and was a disciple of the purer Gospel for which men and women were dying at the stake. Before he had been a year in the College of Montaigu, Calvin began to doubt whether the Church of the Scripture was in reality the Church as he saw it. Not without a struggle he yielded himself to the doubt so far as to decide that he must

abandon the idea of entering the priesthood, and take up the study of law rather than that of theology.

To Orleans Calvin now made his way to sit at the feet of Pierre de l'Etoile, the most famous jurist of his day; and from Orleans he passed to Bourges, where the eloquence of an Italian teacher, Alciati, kindled anew his enthusiasm for the study of law. In Paris he had acquired a mastery of Latin from Cordier, and at Bourges he was initiated into the study of Greek. But the struggle which had compelled him to withdraw from the preparation for the priesthood was still going on, and we find him writing: "I am in a continual battle; I am assaulted and shaken, as when an armed man is forced by a violent blow to stagger a few steps backward."

Very gradually Calvin decided to abandon the study of law, and to return to that of theology —no longer, however, with a view to entering the Romish priesthood. His renewed interest in theology was to lead to his taking up the work of a Protestant pastor, although he himself had at that time no idea of severance from the Church. Under the protection of Margaret of Angoulême, who was now Queen of Navarre and Duchess of Berry, the Reformed Faith had made no little progress in and about Bourges, although it soon became evident that France as a whole was not prepared to accept the new light. Among the Reformers of Bourges Calvin was invited to accept the office of pastor. Reluctantly he yielded to the entreaties of his friends, showing his high sense of the position to

which he had been called by his remark, "Wonderful it is that one of so lowly an origin should be exalted to so great a dignity."

He cannot have laboured in his pastorate at Bourges more than a few months before the news of his father's death, in 1529, recalled him to his birthplace, Noyon, where he found that the new doctrines he had espoused had few followers. During his two months' stay in the neighbourhood he was invited to preach in the Church of Pont l'Evêque; but it was in the son and grandson of old friends of many of his hearers that interest was felt rather than in his message; and the reception of his sermon may well have helped to impress upon him the lesson that the first effect of the publication of truth within the pale of the Church would be not the rebuilding of the old fabric, but its demolition.

As Calvin passed through Paris on his way to Noyon, he found the city in a ferment over the martyrdom at the stake of Louis de Berquin, of whom it was afterwards said that he "would have been a second Luther had he found in Francis I. a second Elector." Berquin had had the daring to challenge the teaching of the Sorbonne as contrary to Scripture, and for six years he was the victim of a relentless persecution, which at last triumphed over his family influence and his highly placed friends. But the execution of this learned and gallant young noble did not stop the spread, even in Paris, of the opinions for which he had died; and when Calvin left his father's old home

again he sought a new sphere of activity in the capital, where he found that the revived study of the original tongues of the Bible had turned not a few of the students to the Bible itself. Hence had arisen a warfare, partly literary, partly theological, and not always wisely waged, but in the midst of which Calvin saw opportunities for sowing the seed of the Kingdom in the hearts of the citizens.

Francis I. of France was still smarting under the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Emperor at the battle of Pavia; and the twistings of his diplomacy, into alternate alliance with and against the Pope, with Henry VIII. of England, and even with the Schmalkald League of German Protestants, played no unimportant part in the history of Protestantism, both in Germany and in France. Had the Emperor, the Pope, and the French King been united, it would have been, humanly speaking, impossible for Protestantism to establish itself in the Continental States. As it was, neither Charles nor Francis could bring his whole force to do the Pope's will and crush the rising "heresy," for fear of the rival monarch.

While Francis intrigued with one court after another, his sister Margaret of Navarre was gathering round her the Reformers of Paris, and she set up a chapel for evangelical worship even in the Palace of the Louvre. For a time the hopes of the Reformers in France ran high; but once again the Sorbonne got the upper hand, and Calvin, with

others, had to seek safety in hasty flight from Paris. Turning to the south, he passed through Orleans and Tours, and made for Angoulême, where he found a refuge in the mansion of the Du Tillet family, with one of whose members he had been associated in Paris. What the Wartburg was to Luther, this château proved to Calvin; and in its library, with its four thousand volumes, he projected his "Institutes," the great work of which we shall have to speak later. One episode of the six months which Calvin spent at Angoulême must be recounted. The aged Lefèvre, who had been driven by the persecution of the Sorbonne from Paris while Calvin was still a schoolboy, was living in retirement at Nerac, hard by; and Calvin set out to visit the man whose translation of the New Testament had opened so many French eyes. The young enthusiast had already gone much farther than Lefèvre had ever thought of travelling on the road of Reform, but the old man saw in him the hoped-for deliverer of French Christianity, and as he grasped Calvin's hand, he said: "Young man, you will be one day a powerful instrument in the Lord's hand; God will make use of you to restore the Kingdom of Heaven in France."

In the spring of 1534 Calvin resumed work as an evangelist at Poitiers, where a cave which lies an hour's walk from the town is still pointed out as the place where the Lord's Supper was celebrated after the Protestant fashion for the first time in France. It was not enough for Calvin to gather a little Protestant congregation in Poitiers during

his short stay there ; he made the infant Church a centre from which missionaries were sent out to evangelise the cities and villages of the district.

Down to this time Calvin had not formally severed his connection with the Church of Rome or renounced the intention of entering the priesthood, to which he was regarded as pledged by his acceptance of the chaplaincy of La Gésine in his boyhood. But his twenty-fifth birthday was now at hand, and by that date he must, according to the canon, either submit himself for ordination to the priesthood or resign his modest preferment. His mind was made up, and he journeyed to Noyon for the last time, in the spring of 1534, and formally resigned his chaplaincy on May 4th, 1534, saying, "Not one, but a hundred benefices would I give up rather than make myself the Pope's vassal." On this same visit he sold the little property he had inherited from his father, and thus broke the last tie that bound him to his birthplace.

From his last visit to Noyon Calvin proceeded to pay what was destined to prove also his last visit to Paris ; and although he found the work of evangelisation still going on, the sky was overcast, and there was a feeling that at any moment the storm of persecution might burst. It was true that in that very year—1534—Francis I. held a conference at the Louvre to consider a project for reconciling Protestants and Roman Catholics, and before this conference were laid documents from Melanchthon at Wittenberg and from Bucer and Hedio at Strasburg. But, on the other hand,

it was only in the previous year that Francis had procured the marriage of his second son, Henry of Orleans, to Catherine de Medici, the niece of Pope Clement VII. What that marriage portended to France and to its Protestants was not yet clear, but was to be written in many a tragic story. For the present, despite his alliance with the Pope, Francis was anxious to stand well with the German Protestants, and for the moment was bent on procuring a reconciliation between Lutheranism and the Church.

The French Protestants saw with little favour the toying of Francis with Reform, and they feared lest they should be put off with the remedy of trifling abuses in the ecclesiastical system, while the underlying errors remained untouched. They feared that France would lag behind Germany and Switzerland under its temporising king, and it was resolved to attack boldly the doctrine of the mass. A messenger was sent to the Swiss Reformers asking their advice, and he brought back with him bales of documents fulminating in no measured language against the enormities of the mass. These documents were in two forms. There were placards to be posted on walls and public buildings in the cities and towns, and there were small handbills to be distributed about the streets.

When the placards were read by the French Protestants, there were some in the assembly who hesitated to take the responsibility of circulating such outspoken and denunciatory documents. But they were outvoted, and arrangements were made

for the simultaneous publication of the placards throughout France on the night of October 24th, 1534. Next morning, not only in Paris and in all the great cities, but in the villages and along the countryside, groups of men and women might have been seen discussing the burning words of the Swiss Reformers. While a few read with approbation, and most with amazement, there were some who read with horror. Among these last was the King, who had found one of the dread documents on the door of the royal cabinet itself, and in his agitation Francis at last made up his mind. The opportunity of the Romanists had come at length, for the King's wrath found vent in terrible words: "Let all be seized, and let Lutheranism be totally exterminated."

So fierce was the persecution which now arose, that even the King's sister, Margaret of Navarre, had to seek safety in flight from Paris to her own kingdom. Some of the more wealthy and more learned of the Protestants went into exile in Switzerland or Germany; but many were the victims of the prison and the stake in the efforts of Francis and the Sorbonne to root out the "heresy" which had dared to lift up its voice against the mass.

Meanwhile, Calvin had left Paris even before the close of the King's fruitless negotiations with the German Protestants, and had made his way first to Strasburg and later to Basle. Here, in his retirement, the news reached him of the terrible vengeance which Francis had taken on the French Protestants for the posting of the placards. He

saw that it was the Reformation which was being vilified and condemned, and he set himself to vindicate the Reformation by the writing of his *Christianæ Religionis Institutio* ("The Institutes of the Christian Religion")—one of the most eloquent, devout, and logical defences of the Protestant position ever composed.

This work, first published in 1536, was added to and revised by Calvin frequently during the next twenty-three years; but the essence of the whole was contained in this first edition, issued at Basle, with a dedication to King Francis I. of France. In its original form it contained only six chapters, but it covered the whole field of Christian belief. The system of theology which Calvin outlines is that which is common to the Reformed Church, and his system of Church government is, in the main, identical with that of the Presbyterian bodies. In the "Institutes" are also unfolded the doctrines of predestination and election which are generally associated with Calvin's name, and constitute, as Dr. Wylie well says, "in the eyes of some the shroud in which he has wrapped up his theology; the rock, in the eyes of others, on which he has planted it." Calvin held that God, as author and ruler of His own universe, must proceed in His government of His creatures according to a definite plan. Upon this the Reformer founded his doctrine that God, in His wisdom, preordained the destiny of each individual soul, either to everlasting life or to death, according to His election. It may be easy for some to call in question these

or other doctrines expounded by Calvin, which Protestants have seen with different degrees of clearness through all the centuries which have passed since; but it is not easy to overrate the service rendered to Protestantism by this work. In the "Institutes" Calvin nobly vindicated his martyred brethren of France, and in doing so put himself in the forefront of those who were carrying on the warfare in which the martyrs had fallen.

CHAPTER XVII.

CALVIN AND GENEVA.

Progress of the Reformation in Geneva—Calvin Joins Farel—Their Confession of Faith—Opposition of the "Libertines"—Calvin and Farel Banished from Geneva—Calvin at Strasburg—Meets Melanchthon—The Ratisbon Conference—Calvin's Return to Geneva—His Ecclesiastical Ordinances—The Zurich Confession—The Burning of Servetus—Death of Calvin.

When Calvin wrote the "Institutes" at Basle, four years had passed since the battle of Kappel and the death of Zwingli; but a new movement was now about to be inaugurated, destined to give to the Reformed Church in Switzerland a position of pre-eminence that those who saw its first leader fall on the field could hardly have dared to hope for it. Just as the Apostle Paul, who yearned first for the conversion of his own race, was led by the Holy Spirit to serve the Church Universal, which comprised the whole known world of his day, so Calvin, whose first efforts were for the evangelisation of his own fair land of France, found himself called to a wider and nobler service. It is the lasting glory of Switzerland, and in particular of the city of Geneva, that, when he was exiled from France, he found by the shores of the Lake of Geneva a new centre for the work to which God had called him.

Even before the death of Zwingli, William Farel, Lefèvre's pupil, driven from France by the persecution of the Sorbonne, had found a refuge in Switzerland, where he, Viret, and Froment became the chief figures in a new Reform of religion which, in the course of a few years, succeeded in winning at least toleration for the evangelical teaching at Neuchâtel, Morat, and, last but not least, in the city of Geneva, which, by three centuries of fighting for civil liberty, had been prepared to open its gates to the free preaching of the Word of God. It would be interesting to trace the hard-won steps by which both civil and religious liberty was achieved for Geneva, but here it is only possible to notice very briefly the chief features of the glorious struggle, which culminated in a decree of the Council on August 27th, 1535, prohibiting all "acts of Popish idolatry" within the city. This brought down upon Geneva the wrath of the Duke of Savoy, whose army threatened the city; but early in 1536 Berne threw in its fortunes with Geneva, and the Duke's army was put to flight. On May 21st, 1536, the whole body of the citizens, with Farel and the magistrates at their head, assembled in the cathedral of St. Peter, and with uplifted hands swore to renounce the doctrine of the Roman Church, the mass and all that depends upon it, and to live according to the laws of the Gospel.

To mark their sense of the importance of the step they had taken, the civic authorities made a significant change in the city motto. Down to this

date it had been *Post tenebras spero lucem* (I hope for light after the darkness). Now, feeling that they had the light, the city magistrates changed the wording of the motto to *Post tenebras lux* (Light after darkness).

It was the sincere desire of Farel and his fellow-workers to ensure that the citizens should not only make profession of the Gospel, but should practise its precepts in their daily life; and this implied a warfare against licence in civil life as well as against abuses in the Church and its teaching. This practical Christianity at once stirred up opposition, with which Farel was contending when news was brought to him that the author of the "Institutes" was in Geneva.

When Calvin had finished his work upon the "Institutes," he paid a brief visit to Italy, from which he was hastily summoned by the death of his eldest brother. He was compelled to pay a flying visit to France, and this over, he purposed to return to Basle, to resume his studious life and the industrious employment of his pen; but he found the direct road through Lorraine blocked by the Emperor's army, and was compelled to make a detour, which brought him to the gates of Geneva.

He was now twenty-seven, and there was little in the appearance of the youthful traveller, of slender figure and pale face, to distinguish him among the crowds of exiles who were now arriving almost daily at the gates of Geneva. He was accompanied by his brother Antoine and by his sister Maria, and it was his intention to break

his journey for one night only. Farel, who was twenty years older than Calvin, was by temperament better fitted for missionary work than for that building up of Christian order which was now the crying need of Geneva ; and he no sooner heard that Calvin had arrived in the city than he appealed to him to become his comrade. At first Calvin met Farel's entreaties with a stern refusal, and earnestly besought the elder man to let him go on his way and resume his studious labours. Beza tells us that Farel went so far, in a fervour which was almost like that of the prophets of the Old Dispensation, as to call down upon Calvin's studies the curse of God should he make them the pretext for declining the call now addressed to him. "God will curse thy work," the elder man said, "if thou preferest it to that of Christ." In after life Calvin loved to recall that "fearful adjuration," which was, he would say, "as if God from on high had stretched out His hand to stop me." Calvin put his hand into that of Farel, and from that moment his destinies were linked with those of Geneva.

He would not at first assume the office of pastor ; but he was appointed to preach, and one of his first acts was to draw up, in conjunction with Farel, a Confession of Faith. Placing the Word of God in the foreground as the one infallible authority, and the one and sole rule, the document proceeds in twenty-one articles to declare what Scripture teaches touching God, and the plan of redemption which He has provided for man, fallen and

helpless. It proclaims Christ the one channel of all blessing; the Spirit the one author of all good works; faith "the entrance to all these riches"; and it then goes on to speak of the apparatus set up for offering redemption to men, of the Sacraments and ministers. Then follow articles on the Church, "comprehending the whole body of true believers"; on excommunication, or the exclusion from the Church of all manifestly unholy and vicious persons till they shall have repented; and, finally, on magistracy, "an ordinance of God," and to be respected "in all ordinances that do not contravene the commandments of God." On November 10th, 1536, this Confession was received and approved of by the Council of the Two Hundred.

Calvin and Farel lived in an age when the line between the civil and the ecclesiastical power was not drawn so clearly as it is in our own day; and it is easy to see how, in dependence upon a Christian magistracy, the Reformers were led to rely upon the civil power for the enforcement of the decrees of the Church and its pastors. Geneva had declared itself a Protestant city; and Calvin and Farel were determined that, so far as God gave them power, they would make the city an example, alike in its government and in the conduct of its citizens, to other cities. First came the regulation of its worship according to the Confession of Faith, and next came an attempt—which quickly aroused opposition—to regulate the morals and habits of the city. In principle many or most of Calvin's

restrictions have been adopted by all self-respecting communities in our own days. In the twentieth century we are all agreed that the State should have the power to check vice and drunkenness, to regulate the hours of taverns, to prohibit improper songs and dances, and to close gaming-houses, even if we are not all of one mind in thinking with Calvin and Farel that the State should enjoin upon all citizens attendance at sermons or other religious exercises. To Calvin's teaching, and his influence upon Christian opinion, our public regulation of morals and conduct can be traced in no small degree; but Geneva in the first half of the sixteenth century had behind it centuries of licence or of lax regulation, and it is not wonderful that opposition to the Reformers soon made itself heard.

The "Libertines," as Calvin's opponents called themselves (deriving their title from the Latin *libertinus*, friend of liberty), quickly began to agitate against Calvin and Farel. Every interest which was attacked by their reforms was up in arms, and within two years of the publication of the Confession of Faith the elections to the Council of the city gave a majority to the Libertines. Soon it became a question whether the Libertines or Calvin would give way; and the storm broke when, on Easter Sunday, 1538, Farel and Calvin declined to admit those who were opposing them to the Lord's Supper in the churches of the city. From one pulpit Farel thundered at the rebellious people; from another Calvin addressed them with calm reasoning. Neither succeeded in

quelling the storm, and on the next day the Council pronounced sentence of banishment upon the two pastors. Calvin received the intimation of this sentence with quiet dignity. "Had I been the servant of man," he said, "I should have received but poor wages; but happy for me it is that I am the servant of Him who never fails to give His servants that which He has promised them." Farel returned to Neuchâtel, where he resumed his former labours; and Calvin, after a short stay in his beloved Basle, found a new sphere for evangelical activity in Strasburg.

At Strasburg Calvin lectured daily on theology to the students of the academy, and preached four times a week; but his salary was so small that he was obliged to supplement it by the sale of some of his books. Meanwhile, the city from which he had been banished remained nominally true to its Protestant Confession, but the Romanists saw in the absence of the chief pastors an opportunity for regaining for the Pope the ground which had been lost. Cardinal Sadoleto was employed to write a letter to the Senate and people of Geneva, in which he was complimentary to them, and seemed almost to praise the doctrine of justification by faith. But the sum total of his argument was an eloquent appeal to the Genevans to escape from the storms which the exercise of private judgment had let loose upon them, by taking refuge in the one "infallible Church."

The Cardinal's eloquent wheedling would not be worth recalling were it not for the fact that it

gave Calvin an opportunity of showing that, in spite of their treatment of him, he had still the interest of the people of Geneva at heart. The man whom they had sent into banishment now came forward as their champion, and in six days he composed an answer to the Cardinal in burning words, which are still read with delight. The Cardinal had cited Calvin and his brethren as criminals before the judgment seat of God, and Calvin pleaded in reply: "I saw Christ cast into oblivion, and become unprofitable—what was I to do? I saw the Gospel stifled by superstition —what was I to do? I saw the Divine Word voluntarily ignored and hidden—what was I to do? If he is not 'to be reputed a traitor who, seeing the soldiers dispersed and scattered, raises the captain's ensign, rallies them, and restores their order,' am I a traitor for having raised, amid the disbanded Church, the old banner of Jesus Christ? For it is not a new and strange ensign which I have unfurled, but Thy noble standard, O Lord."

It was not in connection with Geneva alone that attempts were made about this time to bridge the gulf between Rome and the Protestants. The Emperor and the King of France saw with alarm the growth of the Reformed Faith; and the League of Schmalkald had taught them the possibilities of political combination which it presented. Of the German States, the two Saxonies, Prussia, Hesse-Cassel, and Würtemberg, as well as some of the smaller States and most of the free cities, were

ranged on the side of the Protest. Switzerland was largely lost to Rome, as were Denmark and Sweden; while England and France seemed at that moment to be trembling in the balance. At the instance of the Emperor, the princes met at Frankfort in February, 1540, to devise measures of conciliation, which resulted in nothing more than a truce for fifteen months, expressly limited to the Protestants who subscribed to the Augsburg Confession, thus excluding the Swiss Reformers from its scope. At this conference Calvin watched over the interests of the Swiss churches, and it was here that he met Melanchthon, to whom his heart went out, and with whom he contracted a friendship which lasted until Melanchthon's death.

Abortive conferences took place at Hagenau and at Worms in 1540, and the Diet met at Ratisbon in April, 1541. Calvin, who was present at all these conferences as representative of Strasburg, was struck by the firmness with which the German Protestant princes refused the Emperor's suggestion that no new members should be received into the Schmalkald League. The princes indignantly refused either to disband their League or to deny its protection to those who were persecuted for the Faith. The Ratisbon Conference split on the question of the Lord's Supper. "There stood the impassable rock," says Calvin, "which barred the way to further progress. I had to explain in Latin what were my sentiments. Without fear of offence, I condemned that peculiar local presence; the act of adoration I declared

to be altogether insufferable." Melanchthon and Bucer endeavoured to find some middle ground upon which Romanist and Protestant might meet on this great question. Calvin, while bearing testimony to their "best intentions," confessed that he expected no result from them; nor was he mistaken. The Emperor dissolved the Diet with a promise of a General Council for the settlement of all the religious differences of Christendom.

Even before the end of 1540, when Calvin was setting out for the conference at Worms, a messenger was sent to him from Geneva informing him that the Council of the Two Hundred had resolved "to send to Strasburg to fetch Master John Calvinus, who is very learned, to be minister in this city." It was not without hesitation that he accepted this call. "Who will not pardon me," he wrote, "if I do not again willingly throw myself into a whirlpool which I have found so dangerous?" He put his difficulties before his brethren at Worms, and Bucer stood forward and constrained Calvin to return to Geneva, where, near the borders of Italy and France, his opportunities of serving the cause of Reform throughout Europe would be unique. The die was cast, and Calvin was brought to see that his duty lay before him in the city to which he was called for the second time. He had left it an exile, but when he returned in September, 1541, a mounted herald from the city rode before him. During his residence at Strasburg he had married Idelette de Bure, and the Senate sent to her three horses, a carriage, and a sum of money

to bring her to the city where she was invited to make her home.

Calvin's first task on his return to Geneva was the framing of a series of ecclesiastical ordinances for the government of the Church of Geneva. This code was finally submitted to the popular vote on January 2nd, 1542, which date marks the authentic beginning of the Calvinistic Republic. Holding, as Calvin did, that the State, guiding itself by the light of revelation, can and ought to make arrangements and laws conducive to the maintenance of the Church of God upon earth, Calvin introduced into his ordinances an intimate association between the magistracy and the ruling of the Church. The ecclesiastical authority was wielded by the Consistory, which comprised the ministers of the city and twelve laymen elected by the Council and approved by the people. If the Consistory failed to effect the reformation of an offender against the ordinances, the case came under the cognisance of the Council, which awarded temporal punishment for a breach of the civil laws; for the ecclesiastical ordinances drawn up by Calvin were also the laws of the State.

Five years of quiet work by Calvin as teacher and preacher, as well as writer, went far to establish his position of pre-eminence among the leaders of Protestantism. His chief work was for Geneva; but he had admirers and followers throughout Europe, and daily the Reformer found himself immersed in correspondence with princes, pastors, and statesmen in every known country. Time and

again, it is true, the Libertines in the city rebelled against his authority, and endeavoured to undo his work; and it was not until 1555 that this faction was finally overcome. Long and interesting as was the struggle, and dearly as it cost Calvin in strength and patience, its details belong rather to the civil history of Geneva than to the present work.

Early in 1549 Calvin's wife died, but the position of Protestantism at this time gave the Reformer little or no opportunity to indulge the personal grief which bore hardly upon him. He saw the necessity for a union of the Protestant Churches, and he realised that they were separated only by their view of the Lord's Supper. "I am ready," Calvin said in a letter to the English Reformer Cranmer, "to cross ten seas for the union of the Church." But he wisely began in the land of his adoption, Switzerland. Luther taught that in the Supper the Lord was bodily present in the elements; Zwingli that the Supper was a memorial of the Passion and a sign of grace, and that the Lord was spiritually present in the hearts of His people; Calvin that to the faithful the Supper was a seal and channel of grace as well as a sign. Between Zwingli's position and that of Calvin there is no essential difference; and so, when the pastor of Geneva went to Zurich (in 1549) to confer with the pastors of that city, there was little difficulty in drawing up the *Consensus Tigurinis*, or Zurich Confession, which united all the churches of Switzerland and the Grisons. Union with the

Lutherans Calvin was not destined to see; but he won the approval of Melanchthon and other of the more tolerant followers of Luther by his efforts to secure an understanding.

There is one incident in Calvin's life at Geneva which cannot be passed over in silence, but which the welding of Church and State in the constitution of Geneva has enabled some critics of the Reformer to use as an illustration of the intolerance of Calvin's system. In 1553 Michael Servetus, a medical practitioner, who had studied in Paris, and had there come into contact with Calvin, came to Geneva, despite a warning from the Reformer, with whom he had been in correspondence. Servetus held views on the doctrine of the Trinity which were hateful alike to Romanist and Reformer; and Calvin, who shared to the full his age's belief in the duty of the magistracy to stamp out heresy, denounced him to the Council when he was informed of his presence in the city. For months the case dragged on, for it was complicated by one of Calvin's periodical struggles with the Libertines in the City Council. Finally, all the Swiss Churches were consulted by Geneva, and with awful unanimity the Churches and cities voted for the death of this man, who was accordingly burned outside the city of Geneva, on October 27th, 1553. However much we may deplore the opinions for which Servetus was sent to the stake, it is impossible not to regret that Geneva was the scene of his doom, and that a consenting party to it was Calvin, who was now the leading figure in the Protestant

world. The spot where Servetus was burned is now marked by an expiatory monument, erected in 1903 by the Genevese followers of Calvin, who have learned more fully than their forefathers of the sixteenth century the lesson of liberty of conscience.

But if one stake was set up by Protestant Geneva, there were countless stakes erected for the burning of Protestants in France, in the Netherlands, in England, Spain, and Italy. With all the persecuted Churches we find Calvin in correspondence, advising on Church government and discipline, counselling in difficulties, and strengthening in trial, and all this time his busy pen was inditing the commentaries and other works which are amongst his richest bequests to the Protestants of later days. When his long contest with the Libertines in Geneva ended in his final victory in 1555, Calvin turned his attention once more to the organisation of the Protestant Church in his native land of France; and at the request of the French Reformers he drew up a constitution for the infant Church, which was a modified version of the system enshrined in the Genevan ecclesiastical ordinances. Nor was he content to send advice alone; for in 1561 we find the French King sending a complaint to Geneva that the city was sending Protestant missionaries into his realm, and demanding of the Council their recall.

The building up of a Reformed Church in France shared with another enterprise Calvin's later years. This enterprise was the founding of

the Academy at Geneva, which has since blossomed into the University, and is a noble memorial of Calvin's connection with the city and of his desire that piety and learning should go hand in hand.

Calvin's health was now showing signs of the strain which he had put upon it by his long-continued labours. On February 6th, 1564, he preached for the last time, and on May 27th he passed away, repeating the words of the apostle, "The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be——" but unable to complete the sentence.

By his own wish Calvin was buried without any ceremony. No stone marked his resting-place, and to-day no one knows where his body lies in the cemetery of Plainpalais.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LIGHT IN ENGLAND.

The New Learning—Henry VIII. and the Papal See—Tyndale Translates the New Testament — Hugh Latimer—The King's Divorce and its Consequences—Fall of Wolsey and Rise of Cromwell and Cranmer—England Throws off the Papal Yoke—The Monasteries Dissolved—Reaction and Progress—An English Liturgy.

AGAINST Huss it had been a taunt of the Romanists that he was a follower of Wycliffe; and Luther and the Swiss Reformers were accused of being Hussites, which was only another way of saying that they too had been influenced by the greatest Englishman of the fourteenth century. It is time, then, that we should see how the movement for religious reform fared in Wycliffe's land, which was destined, in God's providence, to prove the metropolis and chief stronghold of Protestantism.

In an earlier chapter we saw how Wycliffe's work left its impress on the political and religious life of his own country. Statute after statute bore witness to the national protest against papal aggression, while a long chain of martyrdoms testified that some of the best and noblest of English men and women had learned of Wycliffe the greater and deeper lesson of spiritual freedom.

It is idle to speculate as to what would have been the course of events in the religious history of England if the Wars of the Roses had not occurred when they did to distract and monopolise the attention of the nation. In all probability the long struggle between Lancastrians and Yorkists served on the one hand to limit the spread of Lollardism, and on the other to deprive the Church of the power of crushing the movement altogether. And alive it certainly was when the great renascence of learning came to the assistance of evangelical truth in England as in every other civilised country. Such men as Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, Sir Thomas More, Grocyn, and the great Erasmus, who played their part in the introduction of the New Learning into England after the fall of Constantinople, may have had little or no thought of severance from the Church of Rome; but their teaching went far to prepare the minds of the clergy and laity for the reception of the reformed doctrines that were soon to follow from the publication by Erasmus, in 1516, of his version of the Greek New Testament, and from the great challenge of Luther's Theses in the following year.

It was in 1502 that the death of Arthur, the elder son of Henry VII., left Henry, the second son, who had till then been destined for the priesthood and the Primacy, heir to the throne of England. Seven years later his father's death placed him on the throne, and his accession was speedily followed by his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his elder brother. This marriage was

canonically irregular; but at the request of Henry VII. a papal dispensation had been granted for it by Julius II., in 1503, soon after the death of Arthur. By thus relying upon the papal dispensation for his marriage, Henry VIII. began his reign with an act of public submission to the Papal See; and with the ambitious Wolsey as one of his chief Ministers in the early years of his reign, the young King was little likely to display himself as other than the friend of the Church. But the temper of Parliament was shown by the passing of a new law in 1513, bringing ecclesiastics under the jurisdiction of the civil courts for murder or theft. Against this enactment a deputation of clerics, with Wolsey at their head, protested in vain to the King, whose vanity was touched by the suggestion of the deputation that any of his subjects should be put above the jurisdiction of his courts. "By God's will," said Henry, "we are King of England, and the kings in England in times past had never any superior but God only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown."

But despite this attitude of the young King, some of his subjects were subjected to ecclesiastical prosecutions for heresy in the earlier years of his reign. Richard Hun, a tradesman of London who used to spend a portion of each day reading the Bible, was seized by the Bishop's servants and lodged in the Lollards' Tower in St. Paul's, and there, although no proof of heresy could be sustained against him on his trial, he was done to death.

Examination of the Bible he had loved showed that it was a copy of Wycliffe's translation, and Hun's dead body was ordered to be burned as that of a heretic—an inhuman sentence, which was carried out at Smithfield—destined to be the scene of so many martyrdoms—on December 20th, 1514. Three years later John Brown, of Ashford, for disputing with a priest, was burned at the stake after trial and imprisonment at Canterbury.

The bulk of the clergy hated scholarship no less than they hated heresy. Erasmus, who had been Professor of Divinity and Greek at Cambridge University, had left England, where he had many friends and admirers even among the clergy, before the publication of his Latin and Greek version of the New Testament. This was first given to the world from Basle in 1516, and copies of it were at once sent to the translator's friends in London, Oxford, and Cambridge.

Among the students into whose hands this new version of the New Testament first fell in England were Thomas Bilney at Cambridge and William Tyndale at Oxford. No sooner did Tyndale become possessed of this treasure than he began to give lectures from it among his fellow-students; and finding that Oxford was not yet prepared to receive its message, he joined Bilney on the banks of the Cam. At the end of his student days he returned to his native Gloucestershire, and became a tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, to whose household and tenantry Tyndale made a practice of expounding the Scriptures. Preaching tours

took him through the neighbouring villages and as far as Bristol, but the priests ravaged the field which he had tilled, and the want of a Bible in the English tongue was burned into his heart. He determined to attempt the translation and printing of the Scriptures, that there might be a constant witness for the truth before the English laymen. Wycliffe had winged his great message to Englishmen by unfolding the Sacred Book to them in their own tongue. Now, after the lapse of a century and a half, the New Learning had made a more accurate version possible, and the art of printing had come to facilitate and cheapen the production of copies of the work. Tyndale was quick to perceive the worth of the weapon that was put into his hands by the new invention. "If God spare my life," he said, "I will, before many years have passed, cause the boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scriptures than the priests do."

He removed to London, and set about the translation of the New Testament into English. But before the work was nearly finished the scholar found London and England convulsed by an inquisition for the writings of Luther. Realising that a land in which it was not even safe to possess Luther's books would offer scant protection to the translators of the Bible into the popular tongue, Tyndale, about the month of May, 1524, sailed for the free city of Hamburg.

Meanwhile, in England, Luther's stand before the Diet of Worms rekindled the embers of Lollardism

on the one hand, and on the other doubled the persecuting zeal of Church and King. Wolsey, who was now Cardinal Legate, and ambitious of succeeding to the Papacy, issued a bull of his own against Luther and his teaching, and his royal master—whose ecclesiastical leanings endured from his early training—himself entered the lists with a book entitled "A Defence of the Seven Sacraments," which was reputed to be his own work, and which won for him from Pope Leo X. in 1521 the title of "Defender of the Faith," confirmed by a bull of Clement VII. two years later, and borne ever since by British sovereigns. But while the King was thus entering the lists against Protestantism, Tyndale was labouring to reinforce it in England by the translation and printing of his version of the New Testament, which reached England from Germany in 1526, and at once strengthened and quickened the movement. Nothing is more remarkable than the intimate connection which has always existed in English history between the circulation of the Scriptures and the spread of Protestantism. Just as Wycliffe's Bible accounted largely for the spread of Lollardism, so the publication of Tyndale's version ushered in the fuller Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Among the men who were ready to take advantage of this new weapon against the Papacy was Hugh Latimer, the son of a Leicestershire yeoman, who was born probably in 1472, went to Cambridge University in 1505 (the year in which Luther

entered the Augustinian convent), and became Fellow of Clare Hall in 1509, the year of Calvin's birth. So far was he from any trace of "heresy" in his early years, that he signalised the taking of his degree of Bachelor of Divinity by a violent Latin discourse against Melanchthon. Soon after this he fell under the influence of Bilney, and speedily became as zealous a preacher of evangelical truth as he had been a defender of the old system. Barnes, the prior of the Augustinian convent at Cambridge, which was not under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ely, opened his pulpit to Latimer when the Bishop forbade him to preach in the University or the diocese; and by the work of these men—Bilney, Barnes, and Latimer, with Stafford, another scholar of Cambridge—a desire was kindled for the copies of the Word which Tyndale produced.

With such avidity was Tyndale's New Testament received and studied, that, as one cleric said, "it was enough to enter London for one to become a heretic." Despite a vigorous persecution and a rigorous search for the forbidden book —or, perhaps, as a consequence—the Word became even dearer to the faithful, who strove the harder to possess it. And while the gift of the Scriptures in their own language was doing its own great work of preparing Englishmen for the spiritual separation from the Papacy, a political movement was in progress which made for opportunities of spiritual freedom, little as this was in the minds of its originators.

Henry VIII. sought a divorce from his Queen, Catherine of Aragon, to whom he had been married under a papal dispensation, and from 1527 he was in constant negotiation with the Pope, Clement VII., for a declaration that his marriage had from the first been unlawful. But Catherine was a near relative of the Emperor; and Clement, apart from a disinclination to rekindle the Imperial wrath against himself, felt some difficulty about pronouncing judgment upon his own predecessor's dispensing decree. There is no necessity to recount in detail the long and unedifying story of Henry's divorce, which is only interesting to us because it led him to seek new advisers, under whose guidance he formally broke the links with Rome. That he and his counsellors had at the outset no thought of doctrinal differences from the Papacy, and that the King, at least, was chiefly actuated by selfish motives, seems clear. But in his eagerness to secure the divorce Henry called new counsellors to his board, and by them he was pointed to principles whose adoption carried him and his land farther than he had intended when he first came into conflict with Rome.

The failure of the effort to win the divorce from Pope Clement brought about the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, and this paved the way for the rise of the Cardinal's old servant, Thomas Cromwell, and at the same time brought to the forefront one who was destined to do even greater service to the Reformation in England—Thomas Cranmer.

Cranmer, who was born in 1489, came of a good family seated at Aslacton, near Nottingham, and in 1529, when the failure of the legates had left Henry still seeking his divorce, he was a Doctor of Divinity and a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. With two pupils he was taking refuge near Waltham, in Essex, from the outbreak of plague at Cambridge, when he fell in with Gardiner, the King's secretary, and Fox, his almoner. The talk turned upon the royal divorce. "Why go to Rome?" asked Cranmer. "Why take so long a road when, by a shorter, you may arrive at a more certain conclusion?" His appeal was to the Scriptures, his advice was that the universities should be asked to expound the teaching of Scripture on the point of the King's marriage. This was reported to the King; and Cranmer, who now became an archdeacon and a court chaplain, was sent on a mission to Bologna, having already shown the King that the Bible was of greater authority than the Pope.

It was about this same time—1530—that Thomas Cromwell, who had entered the House of Commons under the patronage of the now disgraced Wolsey, was taken into the service of the King, to whom he quickly suggested means of asserting the royal power over the clergy. Wolsey had pleaded guilty to offences against the old Acts of Præmunire, and had been more or less sincerely pardoned by the King. But, urged Cromwell, the bishops and clergy, by accepting Wolsey as legate, had shared in his crime, and

they had not been pardoned. Under Cromwell's prompting the King proceeded to assert the independence of his realm, and the bishops and clergy bought off the King's wrath by a handsome subsidy and by a recognition of Henry as head of the Church, "so far as the law of Christ permits."

A new Parliament had been summoned in 1529, and this body proceeded to give legislative confirmation in 1534 to the resolution of the clergy in convocation, and, in the Act of Supremacy, enacted "that the King shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England." Other Acts abolished the payment of annates, or the first year's income of a bishopric or archbishopric, to the Pope; transferred from the ecclesiastics to the King the trial of charges of heresy and the infliction of the sentence of the stake; made it treasonable for any subject to prosecute any appeal to Rome; and laid it down in precise words "that the archbishops and bishops have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical but by, under, and from the Royal Majesty." Link by link the chain which bound the English Church to Rome was broken by the King and Parliament, and England took her place among the nations which rejected the papal supremacy, though she was not yet prepared to acknowledge a departure from papal doctrine.

Meanwhile, Cranmer had, on the death of Archbishop Warham, become Archbishop of Canterbury in March, 1533; and as the breach with the

Pope was not then complete, he took the customary oath of fidelity alike to King and Pope, with the reservation that, in swearing allegiance to the Pope, he did not bind himself to do anything contrary to the laws of God or the rights of the King, and that he should not be hindered by his oath from executing such reformation as might be needed in the Church of England. One of Cranmer's first official acts as Primate was to pronounce the divorce which the Pope had refused the King; and a few days later he solemnly crowned Anne Boleyn Queen. On receipt of the news at Rome, Pope Clement proceeded to pass sentence of excommunication upon the King, and to lay his land under interdict; and this was the signal for the passing of the Act of Supremacy, and the declaration by Parliament that the King was on earth supreme head of the Church of England.

Cranmer had accepted the Primacy with two —and perhaps only two—ideas which we should now regard as Protestant. He distrusted the papal supremacy, and he was a firm believer in the Bible as the rule of faith. Soon after the passing of the Act of Supremacy, we find him moving in convocation an address to the King for an English translation of the Scriptures, with the result that Miles Coverdale, who had been in conference with Tyndale, and had perhaps co-operated with him, produced a version of the whole Bible, which was published in London in 1539. Three years before this Tyndale had won the martyr's crown.

So far as the rule of the Church was concerned,

England had now thrown off the yoke of the Pope ; but again and again stake, scaffold, and gibbet testified that the King and people had not learned to tolerate any departure from the doctrines of Rome. If Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were executed for refusing to acknowledge Henry as head of the Church, Bilney and Fryth, and a notable band of martyrs, went to the stake for denying transubstantiation, and for teaching other "heresies" which the growing use of the English Bible was revealing to English Christians.

That in heart Henry VIII. had any desire to see the Church in England reformed, except so far as his own prerogative and the national independence were at stake, cannot be maintained. But to further his own ends, he was led to take successive steps which paved the way for a Reformation more complete, and a national independence and greatness far exceeding the wildest dreams of his selfish ambition. Already he had separated from Rome and had enfranchised the English Bible. His next step, dictated by the need for funds to defend his position, was the dissolution of the monasteries. The smaller houses were dissolved in 1536 ; and three years later, in 1539, the larger institutions were in turn dealt with. Cranmer and Latimer—the latter of whom was now Bishop of Worcester, and was at this time in fuller sympathy with the German and Swiss Protestants than Cranmer—pleaded that the confiscated property should be applied to purposes of charity and education, in keeping with its

original use ; but the King and his advisers ruled otherwise. Henry and his courtiers were the immediate gainers in wealth from the suppressed institutions. But the nation gained largely, as was soon seen, by the removal from its religious life of an element which had cut itself off from the influences of culture, progress, and spirituality which were working in the life and thought of the people.

The suppression of the monasteries marks the culminating point in Henry's involuntary services to Protestantism. The results of the open Bible and the spread of Lutheran and other Reformed teachings alarmed the King, whose boast was that he was still a good son of the Church ; and he determined to show the world that, free from foreign interference, his land was also free from heresy. In short, he had quarrelled with the Pope—not with Popery. So there was passed in 1539, the year which saw the dissolution of the greater monasteries, the Statute of Six Articles—"the lash with the six strings," as it was called—which laid heavy penalties on denial of six doctrines of the Papal Church which Reformers had begun to assail—transubstantiation, the withholding of the cup from the laity, the prohibition of the marriage of priests, vows of celibacy, private masses, and auricular confession. Cranmer, who had already made considerable progress in evangelical truth since his elevation to the primacy, opposed this statute, but in vain, and its operation soon deprived the bolder Latimer of his see, and

filled the prisons with victims of the royal zeal for orthodoxy. Cranmer's is a puzzling character, and while it is difficult to acquit him of compliance with some of the barbarities of Henry's later years, it must be remembered that after the fall of Cromwell, which occurred only a year after the dissolution of the monasteries, Gardiner and the papal partisans gained a great ascendency in the royal counsels. Cranmer devoted himself more to diocesan work and to study than to affairs of the State; to the last he retained the personal confidence and affection of the King, and was with him in his last illness, which ended on the morning of January 28th, 1547.

Even amid the reaction of Henry's later years, some progress was made in the direction of Reform. Not only was the Bible in the English tongue allowed to be circulated, but in 1538 it was ordered that a copy of it should be placed in every parish church; and four years later Cranmer intimated to convocation the King's pleasure that the service books should be examined, corrected, and purified from superstitious prayers. Cranmer and a committee of bishops took the work in hand; and although comparatively little progress was made during Henry's reign, material was gathered which speedily bore fruit under his successor. Edward VI., the son of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, was a boy of nine when he ascended the throne; and under the will of his father the Regency of the kingdom was entrusted to a body of sixteen executors, of whom Cranmer was one

and the chief was the boy-King's maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who afterwards became Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector. Somerset was a sincere friend of the Reformation; and the Council of Regency was largely—although by no means wholly—composed of men favourable to the Protestant cause. Cranmer was now free to give effect to the aspirations which, kept in check by Henry's temporising, had developed in his studies and his correspondence, and to attempt some building up where the policy of the late King had only resulted in laying waste.

For some years before the death of Henry, the principles of Protestantism had made greater headway in the nation than in the Court, and the new spirit found vent when "the English Josiah," as Edward has been called, succeeded his father. Cranmer himself had already advanced far on the path of Reform, as was seen when, under his advice, a "royal visitation for reformation of religion" was undertaken within a month of the young King's coronation. The Statute of Six Articles was promptly repealed, and the prisoners who had been in durance for disobedience to that pernicious Act were released; and from Germany and Switzerland there came back the English exiles who in Henry's later years had taken refuge abroad from his reactionary zeal.

Cranmer and Somerset were in correspondence with Calvin and Melanchthon and other leaders of the Continental Protestants; and every year that passed in Edward's brief reign saw some step

towards the realisation in England of the ideas of the great Reformers. The English people already had the Bible in their own tongue; they were now to be given a form of worship in the language of their fathers. First an "Order of Communion" in English, which was to be inserted in the middle of the Latin mass, and provided that the cup should be given to the laity, was drawn up in 1548. The First Prayer Book was completed in the same year, and was adopted by Parliament in 1549 in the first Act of Uniformity, and ordered to be used on Whit Sunday, June 10th—a date which deserves to be remembered as that on which, after many centuries, the people of this country first celebrated Divine worship in their own tongue.

Cranmer and his fellow-labourers, in the framing of this First Prayer Book of Edward VI., were compelled to approach their work in a spirit of compromise. The old vestments were preserved and prayers for the dead were still used. But the book was the work of a transition period; and if it retained much and taught much that had to be abandoned soon after, it had the great merit of making compulsory the reading of passages from the Old and New Testaments in English at the public worship of God, and of providing an English service in which all could join and which all could understand. Having given the English people an English liturgy, Cranmer next undertook the task of drawing up articles of religion, forty-two in number, to set forth clearly the teaching of the

English Church; and these, revised by others—including the Scottish Reformer Knox, who was one of Edward's chaplains—were published by the King in 1553, and ordered "to be publicly owned as the sum of the doctrine of the Church of England."

No sooner was the liturgy published than a movement began for its revision, and Cranmer, who from the first had regarded it as simply a stepping-stone, was placed at the head of the committee entrusted with the work. This resulted in the Second Prayer Book (issued in 1552), which abolished all vestments but the surplice, and, in the case of bishops, the rochet, and bore testimony in other ways to the advance which had been made by the nation and its leaders. Under Henry VIII., England had repudiated the supremacy of the Pope, and had asserted the national independence in the ordering of its Church. But under his son Edward, England set up a form of worship in the national tongue, ordered the images to be moved from the churches, abandoned superstitious forms and ceremonies, and restored the Word of God to its proper place in Divine worship. The Church, as Henry left it, was in sympathy with Popery; Edward left it Protestant.

Much as had been done, much was still left to be done, and the followers of old traditions and the friends of Rome were still strong in the land. The King's elder sister Mary was known to be a zealous Roman Catholic, and it was with the hope of securing the continuance of Protestantism and the work of Reformation that Cranmer gave

a reluctant assent to the dying King's selection of Lady Jane Grey as his successor. The Protector Somerset had fallen in January, 1552, and the Duke of Northumberland, who had succeeded him at the head of the Regency, acted in the matter of the succession from a desire to aggrandise his own family. But the result for Protestantism was disastrous; for the change in the succession, and the setting aside of Princess Mary, were widely unpopular, and the cause of the Reformation suffered from the identification of its leaders with what the people looked upon as an act of usurpation.

CHAPTER XIX.

PROTESTANTISM UNDER MARY AND ELIZABETH.

Accession of Mary—The Mass Restored—Gardiner and Bonner in Authority—Persecution—Cranmer's Final Triumph over Himself—Queen Elizabeth's Ecclesiastical Policy and its Results—The Queen Excommunicated—The Great Armada—National Growth.

AFTER a brief reign of ten days, Lady Jane Grey passed to the Tower and the block, and Mary, the eldest child of Henry VIII., and daughter of Catherine of Aragon, was proclaimed Queen. Her training and education had been that of a Spanish rather than of an English princess. She was now in her thirty-seventh year, and from her childhood had been a pronounced adherent of the Roman Church, so the Protestants were under no doubt as to the attitude which she would adopt towards Reform. Edward had left Protestantism the recognised and established Faith of the nation; but Mary soon showed that she possessed all her father's imperious disposition. She was herself a sincere Roman Catholic, and her people must bend or be bent as she willed, and accept her creed. Almost her first act as Queen was to send a messenger post haste to Rome to announce her accession to the Pope, and to ask that Cardinal Pole, a scion

of the House of York, might be sent to her land as legate.

During Edward's reign, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London—both of whom had accepted the royal supremacy under Henry VIII.—had been State prisoners; but no sooner had Mary ascended the throne than they were set at liberty and resumed their sees. Gardiner became Lord Chancellor, and both he and Bonner at once aided the Queen in undoing the work of the two previous reigns. When Mary entered London after her accession, she assured the Lord Mayor that "she meant graciously not to compel or strain other people's consciences, otherwise than God shall put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth"; but the acts of her agents soon belied her words.

It was on July 18th, 1553, that Mary was proclaimed Queen, but she did not wait for the meeting of Parliament in October before taking steps to remove the leading Protestants from their positions in State and Church. Cranmer officiated publicly as archbishop for the last time at the funeral of King Edward. Immediately afterwards he was ordered to confine himself to his house at Lambeth. A report was circulated that he had recanted, and this drew from him a written declaration of his continued adherence to the Protestant faith, upon which he was summoned before the Council and committed to the Tower, charged with treason and heresy. Bishops Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, Coverdale the translator of the Bible, and John

Rogers, who had preached boldly from Paul's Cross against Romanism just after Mary's accession, were among others who were thrown into prison even before any change was made in the law.

The foreign Protestants who had taken refuge in England while Edward reigned were given their passports, and hundreds of Englishmen and women escaped with them to the Protestant cities of Germany and Switzerland. Cranmer might have left the country with his friends, but he resolutely declined to go. He had been too deeply concerned, he said, in the changes of religion in the last reign not to remain and own them. But in staying he virtually drew up his own death-warrant.

On the pretext of treason, heresy, or marriage, the Protestant bishops and ministers were speedily deprived of their offices. The mass was restored, and the images and ornaments which had been removed from the churches under Edward were replaced even before Parliament, which met in October, 1553, repealed all laws respecting religion which had been passed under Edward. But Mary's first Parliament would not sanction the taking away from their new owners of the abbey lands which had been bestowed upon them by Mary's father.

To give an air of deliberation to the changes which were being made, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were carried from the Tower to Oxford in March of the following year, to dispute in the Divinity School concerning "the sacrament of the altar" with champions of the Roman faith before

commissioners representing the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Cranmer was seventy years of age and Latimer possibly eighty-four, but this did not save them from insult. Each of the noble trio protested against the Roman doctrine of the bodily presence of Christ in the eucharist; but the commissioners decided that their opponents had had the better of the disputation, and Gardiner and Bonner had the sanction which they sought for the restoration of the mass. The nation was not yet won over wholly to Mary's view; for although Parliament agreed to her marriage with the Emperor's son, Philip of Spain, it would not re-enact the laws for the burning of heretics. The wedding took place in July, 1554. A new Parliament proved more submissive than its predecessor, for it gave back to the bishops the power of the stake, while still withholding the abbey lands from the Church. When Cardinal Pole arrived in England, Queen, Parliament, and Convocation knelt before him to receive absolution for the national "heresy and schism." Henry's daughter surrendered the national independence which her father had asserted as against Rome. The time of trial for English Protestantism was now come; the law for the burning of heretics had been revived, and Gardiner and Bonner, who at the moment inspired Mary's policy, were not the men to allow so useful an instrument to remain a dead letter.

Bonner, who had taken the place of Ridley as Bishop of London, was foremost in the work of persecution which now began, and the first

BISHOP RIDLEY BEFORE THE COMMISSION IN THE DIVINITY SCHOOL AT OXFORD.

martyr to suffer at the stake—the pioneer of a noble army—was John Rogers, who had been an associate of Tyndale and Coverdale in the translation of the Scriptures into English. As we have seen, he had given great offence by a sermon against the papal creed which he had preached immediately after Mary's accession; but the crime for which he was led to the stake at Smithfield on February 4th, 1555, was the denial of transubstantiation. A pardon was offered to him, if he would but recant, when the faggots were already heaped about him. "That which I have preached," said Rogers, "will I seal with my blood." "Thou art a heretic," said the sheriff. "That shall be known at the last day," was the undaunted answer of the martyr, and the pardon was exchanged for the torch. With hands raised towards heaven until they fell into the flames, the proto-martyr of England's saddest period of persecution passed through the fire.

Saunders at Coventry, Hooper at Gloucester, Rowland at Hadleigh in Suffolk, and Ferrar at St. David's, quickly followed Rogers in his glorious testimony. Of Bishop Ferrar it is told that he promised a young friend who had sympathised with him on his approaching fate that he would stand unmoved amid the flames, and so it was.

The prisons were emptied of their customary occupants to make room for the men and women whose sole offence was that they feared God and would only worship Him as their consciences dictated and as God's Word directed. It is neither

expedient nor necessary to give the details of all the two hundred and eighty-eight burnings which are known to have taken place in England during Mary's brief reign of five years ; but the martyrdom of the three chief victims of the persecution—Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer—must be recalled. A year or more after the mock disputation on the mass at Oxford, the three prelates were put upon their trial before commissioners nominated by Cardinal Pole, and were sentenced to burning. Ridley and Latimer were led to execution in front of Balliol College on the morning of October 16th, 1555, and the two men were chained to the one stake. As the lighted faggot was laid at Ridley's feet, his aged comrade Latimer cheered him with words that will live in the memory of English Protestants so long as history shall run : "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

Cranmer was not allowed to seal his faith with his life for another six months, for the Pope's assent was sought to the burning of a prelate who had been consecrated while England still recognised the papal supremacy ; and in the interval which elapsed between his sentence and its execution, the old man was induced more than once to give his enemies the opportunity of saying that he, once the leader among the Protestants of England, had recanted. At the last he saw his error, and his old steadfastness was restored to

him. Revoking his recantation, he added: "Forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefor; for may I come to the fire, it shall first be burned." And when he came to the stake on March 21st, 1556, on the same spot where his friends Ridley and Latimer had suffered, he resolutely thrust his hand into the flames as they drew near him, and was heard to say repeatedly, "That unworthy right hand!"

To those who perished at the stake in Mary's reign must be added many confessors of both sexes who succumbed to torture and to privation in the prisons to which they had been committed for their fidelity to the Gospel. No complete roll of these martyrs has ever been compiled, but it is significant that the victims were most numerous in the southern and eastern counties, which were more directly in touch with the Continent, and in which, under Edward, the refugees from persecution abroad had more freely settled. Though the names of all the witnesses for Protestantism in England during Mary's brief but bloody reign are written in no earthly record, we know the effect of their testimony. So long as Mary lived the persecution endured, and only two days before her death five martyrs were burned in one fire at Canterbury, on November 15th, 1558. But England was growing daily less tolerant of Romish intolerance; and it is not too much to say that, from the day of Mary's death, England has been a Protestant country.

Parliament was in session when Queen Mary died, and when the Lord Chancellor announced the news the members started to their feet, shouting "God save Queen Elizabeth!" From all the steeples the bells rang peals of joy as the tidings spread over the land, and the people awoke as from a hideous nightmare. Elizabeth, who in her sister's reign had actually been committed to the Tower as a traitor, now repaired again to the fortress-palace, in accordance with custom, to prepare for her coronation. As she passed through the streets of London to the Abbey, a copy of the English Bible was presented to her, and the citizens saw in her gracious acceptance of this gift a token of the restoration of Scriptural religion to the land.

As the daughter of Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth was regarded by the Pope as having no right to succeed to the throne; and the fact that most of the bishops and parochial clergymen who held office at her accession, and a large party in the laity, were Roman Catholics, placed the Queen in a difficulty. She was sincere in her wish to undo the work of Mary, but she hesitated in the early years of her reign to provoke hostility from Roman Catholic Powers abroad, or rebellion on the part of her numerous Roman Catholic subjects at home, with either of which contingencies she would then have found it difficult to cope. Until Parliament met at the end of January, 1559, all preaching was forbidden except under the licence of the bishops or Council, and the ministers were bidden to read

to their congregations the homilies which had been compiled by Cranmer. This silencing of all preachers has frequently been condemned; but it must not be forgotten that the pulpits were mostly in possession of avowed Papists, and the probability is that they would have been used for the spread of the Pope's views upon the illegality of the Queen's succession.

When Parliament met, its first act was to pass unanimously a declaration that Queen Elizabeth was "the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown," and, in spite of a resolution from Convocation that the clergy alone had the right to determine points of faith, the laws in favour of the Protestant religion which had been passed under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but repealed under Mary, were again enacted, and the royal supremacy was restored. All persons who took office in State or Church were compelled to swear that they acknowledged the Queen to be the "supreme governor in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within her dominions; that they renounced all foreign power and jurisdiction, and should bear the Queen faith and true allegiance."

This same Parliament passed on April 28th, 1559, the second Act of Uniformity, enjoining upon all ministers the use of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., with three comparatively unimportant changes. This Act not only imposed penalties upon ministers who transgressed its provisions, but enacted that a fine should be paid by all who absented themselves from church on

Sundays and holy days, and laid penalties upon those who interrupted the minister or used any other form of service in church than that set out in the liturgy. Of the three alterations in the Book of Common Prayer the chief was the addition to the words of administration in the Communion service of the words used in the First Prayer Book. No doctrinal change was effected by this addition.

Elizabeth was happy in her choice of counsellors, and England owed much to the two men to whom she gave chief places in the State on her accession. William Cecil, who afterwards became Lord Burghley, was appointed Secretary of State, and Nicholas Bacon was Lord Keeper. Under their advice, coupled with that of Matthew Parker, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559, a policy was followed which gradually strengthened the hold of Protestantism on the country. Of the bishops who had filled the English sees under Mary only fourteen survived, and with one exception all these resigned and their places were taken by Reformers. Edmund Grindal, who had taken refuge in Switzerland from Mary's persecution, was appointed to succeed Bonner as Bishop of London; and John Jewel, who had found an asylum in Germany, became Bishop of Salisbury. These men, and hundreds of less prominent Protestants, who had spent their years of exile in countries which had completely emancipated themselves from the papal yoke, came back to England with strong aspirations for a greater purity of religion. The more zealous among them took

exception to the vestments and ceremonies which still found their place in the English service. Almost from the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth, who had a fondness for stately ceremonial, found herself in difficulties between the adherents of the old creed and the more zealous of the advocates of Reform, who now began to be called "Puritans."

In 1559 a public disputation on religion was held at Westminster between eight theologians of the Roman school and an equal number of Protestant divines. The Lord Keeper presided, and the issue was so favourable to the Reformation that the hands of Elizabeth and her Parliament were greatly strengthened. The first Book of Homilies, which had been published under Edward VI. from the pens of Cranmer, Latimer, and other Protestant leaders, was now brought into use again; and before long a second Book was printed and ordered to be used. Under the Primate's supervision, a committee upon which sat a considerable number of bishops set about a new translation of the Bible, and a copy of this version—the Bishops' Bible, as it was called—was ordered to be placed in every church throughout the land, together with a copy of Bishop Jewel's matchless "Apology," an unequalled defence of Protestantism against the Popish position.

Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy may not have been, and was not, logically perfect; but it gave peace to her land, and allowed for the steady growth of education in the principles of Protestantism. The wise moderation of the Government did

much to reconcile the majority of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects to her rule, and to ward off the antagonism of foreign Powers. Indeed, it was not until eleven years had passed from her accession that the papal court abandoned the hope of Elizabeth's reconciliation with Rome. Paul IV., who filled the papal throne when Mary died, and Pius IV., who succeeded him in 1559, had contented themselves with the declaration that Elizabeth was not lawful Queen of England; but Pius V., who assumed the tiara in 1566, saw with alarm not only that Protestantism was consolidating its position in England, but that the northern island—especially since Scotland had declared for the Reformation in 1560—was fast becoming the centre of the Protestant movement, and was strengthening its relations with the Protestant communities on the Continent. So, on May 5th, 1570, Pius proceeded to excommunicate "Elizabeth, the pretended Queen of England, a slave of wickedness, lending thereunto a helping hand, with whom, as in a sanctuary, the most pernicious of all men have found a refuge. This very woman, having seized on the kingdom, and monstrously usurping the supreme place of head of the Church in all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction thereof, hath again brought back the said kingdom into miserable destruction, which was newly reduced to the Catholic faith and good fruits."

Even before this bull excommunicated Elizabeth and released her subjects from their obedi-

ence to her, the scouts of the papal army had entered England, in the person of members of the still young "Order of Jesus"—the Jesuits—who laboured to stir up strife between Protestants, and secretly to revive the old worship. To find points of difference between the Reformers was unhappily not difficult, for disputes concerning the surplice as well as the episcopal dress were rife, and these the Jesuits cunningly fanned.

The answer of Englishmen to the Pope was prompt. Lay Romanists who had hitherto conformed to the established worship began to withdraw from the churches, and to look askance on their fellow-subjects of an excommunicated Queen; but Parliament enacted two statutes, the first of which made it high treason "to declare that the Queen is a heretic or usurper of the crown," while the second made it a like offence to publish any bull or absolution from Rome. Despite these laws, the next few years were marked by a constant succession of plots against the Queen's crown or life; and it was on a charge of participation in one of these that Mary Queen of Scots, the next in succession to the English throne, was sent to the block in 1587. And it was as traitors that numerous Roman priests were sent to the block.

So long as Mary Stuart lived, the hopes of the Papists centred in her; but after her execution the party fell back upon the decree of the Council of Trent, which had enjoined upon all Christian princes the duty of extirpating Protestantism. Philip II. of Spain, who was the chosen instrument

of the reigning Pope, Sixtus V., had special reasons for his hatred of England and Elizabeth. He was the husband of Elizabeth's predecessor Mary, and had been an unsuccessful suitor for Elizabeth's hand; and of late the growing sea-power of England, under Drake and other daring commanders, had "singed the King of Spain's beard," to use Drake's memorable phrase. So, under the direct patronage of the Pope, Philip was only too glad to fit out the Great Armada, which was not merely to re-establish the mass in England, but was to add the kingdom to the many which already owned Philip for lord, and to avenge the slights which had been put upon his mastery of the sea. It was at the end of May, 1588, that the "Invincible Armada," as the Spaniards called their great fleet, set sail from the Tagus. The orders to its commander, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, were to sail up the English Channel to Flanders, and there embark the army which Philip's lieutenant, the Duke of Parma, had prepared for the invasion of England.

To the last moment Elizabeth and her advisers professed not to believe that the Armada was directed against England; but when the danger became imminent, the Queen gave a noble example to her subjects. Appearing on horseback at Tilbury before the army which had been hastily levied, the Queen spiritedly declared her resolution rather to perish in battle than survive the ruin of the Protestant faith and the enslavement of her people. The English fleet, which was largely

composed of merchantmen, was far inferior to the Spanish Armada in the number of its vessels. But the small English ships proved to be better equipped for the fighting which took place, and they were manned by daring, skilled, and resolute seamen, whose dash and courage more than atoned for the foolish policy which had left the country without an organised navy adequately equipped for such an emergency. The towering hulks of the Spanish vessels showed themselves unwieldy, and the heavy ordnance upon which the designers of the Armada had relied could not be brought to bear upon the agile little English craft.

It is not necessary to tell again the story of the great deliverance from papal thraldom which God wrought for England at the hands of English sailors in those closing days of July and early days of August, 1588. The destruction which was begun by the English commanders was completed by the wild tempests of the North Sea, which strewed the coasts of Scotland and Ireland with the wrecks of the mighty galleons that had sailed from the Tagus in pomp and pride. One by one the few vessels which escaped crept back to Spain with their tale of disaster. But in England, and in every Protestant country, arose a universal chorus of thanksgiving to God Who had given His people so great a victory.

In November, 1589, Queen Elizabeth, followed by all the chief officers and dignitaries of the realm, rode through London's streets, which were gaily decorated, publicly to return thanks

to Almighty God in St. Paul's Cathedral; and after the service in the cathedral a sermon was preached from Paul's Cross, and the Queen rose and exhorted her subjects to unite with her in extolling the merciful Power which had scattered her foes and shielded from overthrow her throne and realm.

The remaining years of Elizabeth's reign were years of vast and rapid national growth. The defeat of the Armada removed all danger of foreign invasion and immensely strengthened England's power on the Continent, and at the same time it naturally led to a more emphatic national revulsion against the Papacy. With this growth of feeling came some accentuation of differences between Puritans and the upholders of the religious system established by Elizabeth. The Puritans in the House of Commons became more numerous at each election; and in the country religious bodies seceding from the national Church began to give trouble to those who had to administer the Act of Uniformity. But as Puritans and Episcopalians alike were Protestants, their differences have no place here. It is possible that some of these differences might and should have been adjusted, and that a broader tolerance on either side would have done much to preserve the peace of the land; but it was in no small degree out of the very earnestness of their Protestantism that men were led to lay stress upon the points which divided them in their interpretation of their common creed; and when Elizabeth died (in 1603), there was no need

to fear a national relapse into Popery. She had named as her successor James VI. of Scotland, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, who united to the crown of Protestant England that of a country which had already become unflinchingly Protestant, and to whose story we must now turn.

CHAPTER XX.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

Early Stirrings of the Spirit of Reform—The First Protestant Martyr in Scotland—George Wishart—John Knox—Murder of Cardinal Beaton—Knox sent to the Galleys—Progress of the Scottish Reformation—The Perth Rising—Knox Preaches in St. Andrews Cathedral—Inauguration of the Reformed Worship in that and other Cities.

In no other European country was the reign of Popery over the ecclesiastical system so short as it was in Scotland; in none was its overthrow more complete. Nearly half of the twelfth century had passed before the ancient church of North Britain fell completely under the sway of Rome, and the middle of the sixteenth century saw the Reformation indelibly stamped on the national life and character. Long centuries of constant struggle to preserve the independence of the northern kingdom had bred in its sturdy people an intolerance of foreign domination; and when Protestantism made its appeal to Scottish reason the answer was decisive.

As viewed by the Popes, many of the practices of the primitive Scottish Church were heretical, and, so far back as the beginning of the fourteenth century, we find Pope John XXII. complaining, in his bull for anointing King Robert the Bruce,

that the country was defiled by the presence of heretics. Wycliffe's writings found their way across the Tweed, and nine years before the martyrdom of John Huss, James Resby, an English disciple of Wycliffe, was burned at Perth for teaching that "the Pope was not Christ's vicar, and that he was not Pope if he was a man of wicked life." A few years later we have further proof of the prevalence in Scotland of Wycliffite opinions in the ordinance (passed in 1416) of the then newly established University of St. Andrews, that all candidates for the degree of Master of Arts should take an oath to defend the Church against the insults of the Lollards—which would have been unnecessary if the followers of Wycliffe had not been distinctly in evidence. The year 1431 saw another martyr in the person of Paul Crawar, a Bohemian follower of Huss, who had preached against the mass. He was carried to the stake at St. Andrews, with a ball of brass in his mouth to prevent him from addressing the people in his last moments. From that time onward there were few years in which records are not found of the persecutions in the Lowlands of the men who became known as the Lollards of Kyle, whose privilege it was to keep the lamp of truth burning in Scotland until the fuller light of the Reformation broke over the country in the sixteenth century.

The eastern ports of Scotland had a considerable trade with Flanders and Lower Germany, and the Scottish skippers brought back with them copies of Luther's books and tracts; and these heralds of

the Reformation were speedily reinforced by Tyndale's translation of the Bible. The evangel sped so rapidly that the hierarchy determined to rekindle the fires of persecution. The first victim was Patrick Hamilton, a young man of good family, who had probably first come under the influence of Luther's teaching when a student in the University of Paris. During his residence on the Continent he spent some time in a college which had then recently been established by Erasmus at Louvain for the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. About 1523 he returned to Scotland, and at St. Andrews soon attracted the attention of the authorities by his Lutheran sympathies. To escape imprisonment, or a worse fate, he was obliged to take refuge in Germany in 1527, and he spent some months at Marburg with Francis Lambert, and at Wittenberg with Luther and Melanchthon.

Before the end of the year, his zeal quickened by his intercourse with the leaders of German Protestantism, he again returned to his native country, and engaged in evangelistic work round Linlithgow. For this he was summoned to appear before James Beaton, at that time Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland. There could be only one end to such a trial as that which was then accorded to Hamilton at St. Andrews, and at the conclusion of the proceedings he was sentenced to be burned. His martyrdom was fulfilled the same day, February 29, 1528, in front of St. Salvator's College. By a refinement of cruelty

the faggots which formed the pile were of green wood, and for six hours the brave man lingered at the stake in agony which he bore without flinching. Indeed, when the end was nearly reached, one of the bystanders asked for a sign that the martyr still held to be true the doctrine for which he was dying. Already two fingers of Hamilton's right hand had fallen into the fire, but he resolutely held out his arm and kept it extended until the rest of the member dropped into the flames. Thus perished the first martyr of the Reformation in Scotland. His death was not in vain; and when next Archbishop Beaton proposed to set up a stake for the burning of a convert to Protestantism, one of his own retinue advised him: "My lord, if you will burn any man, let him be burned in how [hollow] cellars, for the reek [smoke] of Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it did blow upon."

From the year of Hamilton's martyrdom until the death of King James V. in 1542, Protestantism continued to gain ground in Scotland, but it was not favoured by the Court, and Henry VIII. of England endeavoured in vain to win over his nephew, the King, to his own policy of throwing off the papal supremacy. The country was torn by faction, and King James found himself obliged to lean upon the Church, with the result that Archbishop James Beaton and his more famous nephew David, who succeeded him in the Primacy and was afterwards created a cardinal, retained and exercised the power of persecution. Despite

all their efforts, the clergy saw the Reformed Faith daily making greater progress, and Beaton drew up and presented to the King a list of nobles and popular leaders who were suspected of holding Protestant opinions, with a view to their being dealt with rigorously. This list contained more than a hundred of the best known names in Scotland, and included the Earl of Arran, the first peer of the realm,who was declared Regent of the kingdom on the death of James V., in December, 1542. A few days before, James's French Queen, Mary of Lorraine, had given birth to the Princess Mary, who now succeeded to the throne, and lives in history as the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots.

The Regency began auspiciously for the Reformation, and an Act of Parliament was passed on March 15th, 1543, which made it lawful for every subject of the realm to read the Bible in his mother tongue. Cardinal Beaton, who was at the head of the French party at the Scottish Court, and had been the chief obstacle in the way of an agreement between the late King and Henry VIII. of England, was thrown into prison in the early days of the Regency; but he quickly recovered his liberty, and gained an ascendency over the Regent, whom he induced to abjure Protestantism.

It was about this time that George Wishart, a young student who had been driven into exile by a charge of heresy in 1528, returned to Scotland after a sojourn in the then freer land of England. and in the Protestant communities of Germany and Switzerland. Full of burning zeal, Wishart

preached the doctrine of justification by faith with great success in Dundee, in Montrose, and in the Lollard-trained fields of Kyle. This was more than Beaton could tolerate, for he saw in every Protestant not only a heretic, but also a probable friend of an English alliance. While Wishart was on a preaching tour he was seized at Ormiston, on January 16th, 1546, and carried to St. Andrews, where, on February 28th, he was condemned to the flames as a heretic. At his last meal Wishart encouraged his friends. "Consider and behold my visage," he said; "ye shall not see me change my colour. The grim fire I fear not. I know that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night." The Cardinal and his friends watched the martyr led out to execution, and saw him strangled and his body burned to ashes, but they little thought that their victim's work was to pass at once into the master-hand of the man who was to change the current of Scottish history.

When Wishart was seized by the servants of Cardinal Beaton at Ormiston, there was with him a young man who was tutor to the sons of two lairds known for their attachment to the Reformed principles. This tutor, John Knox by name, was then thirty-one. From the school of his native town, Haddington, he had passed to the University of Glasgow, where he studied under John Major. After he left the university he was probably connected for something like ten years with one of the religious establishments in the neighbourhood of Haddington, and then he was

led to take the post as tutor which brought him into that association with Wishart which moulded the rest of his career. He was so deeply impressed with Wishart's preaching and by the danger to which the missionary was exposed, that he was wont to carry a two-handed sword before Wishart for his protection; and when the preacher was apprehended, Knox would willingly have accompanied him to St. Andrews. "Return to your bairns," said Wishart to his impetuous disciple, "and God bless you. One is sufficient for one sacrifice."

To his "bairns" (pupils) Knox went sorrowfully back. Three months after the execution of Wishart, Cardinal Beaton was foully murdered in the castle of St. Andrews, as the result of a plot in which Norman Leslie was the leader. The castle, which the Cardinal had fortified, was seized and held by the conspirators, who soon made it a place of refuge for those who were in peril of persecution for their Reformation principles. And amongst those who sought its protection were John Knox and his pupils, who had had no part in the plot. In the little garrison Knox was prevailed upon to take up the duty of preacher and chaplain, and he preached not only in the castle but in the parish church of St. Andrews. In his first sermon in the parish church he went to the root of the controversy in which his nation was now engaged, and attacked the Church of Rome as the Antichrist of Scripture. "Others," said some of his hearers, "sned [lopped] the branches of the Papistrie, but he strikes at the

Photo: Emery Walker, Clifford's Inn, E.C.

JOHN KNOX.

From the Portrait in the National Portrait Gallery (artist uncertain).

root to destroy the whole." Leslie's dagger had done very definite injury to the growing movement for Reform. It had removed Cardinal Beaton, but it had quickened the energies of the French Queen-Dowager, Mary of Lorraine, and it compelled her advisers to call for fresh help from France. In June, 1547, while the Regent Arran besieged the castle on land, French ships of war hemmed it in from the sea, and the garrison was compelled to capitulate. In defiance of the terms arranged, all the defenders of the castle, including Knox, were borne away into slavery on French galleys. The first winter of his imprisonment was served by Knox on a galley in the Loire, and he was afterwards incarcerated at Rouen, until, in February, 1549, he was set at liberty on the intercession of Edward VI., during whose later years Knox lived in England, taking a prominent part in the work in which Cranmer was the leader.

When Mary succeeded Edward on the throne of England, Knox took refuge first at Dieppe, and afterwards at Geneva. For a while, too, he was minister of an English congregation at Frankfort; but the exiles there wished to introduce the Book of Common Prayer; whereas Knox had learned in Switzerland the love of the simpler worship of Zwingli and Calvin, and he found at Geneva a pastorate more to his liking. Meanwhile the Reformation was steadily winning its way in his native country; and when Knox ventured to pay a visit to Scotland, in the autumn of 1555, he found that a great change had been wrought during

the eight years that had elapsed since he was carried off. The Queen-Dowager had succeeded Arran as Regent for the young Queen, and, in opposition to her and the Roman hierarchy, a strong band of nobles was already ranged on the side of Scotland and the Reformed Faith. By the advice of Knox, these "lords of the congregation," as they began to be called, withdrew from the service of the mass, and signalised their secession by receiving the sacrament after the Protestant form at his hands. Having helped in the work of organising the Reformers in Scotland, Knox withdrew for another three years to Geneva, where he sat at the feet of Calvin, with whose principles of Church government he became more deeply imbued than ever.

It was on May 2nd, 1559, that Knox again landed in Scotland, to find the Reformers face to face with a crisis. Emboldened by the report that France and Spain had just concluded a pact for the suppression of Protestantism, the Queen-Regent and the bishops had resolved upon drastic measures against the Scottish Reformers, who had been growing in numbers under the protection of the lords of the congregation. Four preachers had been summoned to answer charges of heresy at Stirling. Knox was proclaimed a rebel and an outlaw as soon as news of his presence in the country reached the Court, and the four preachers were similarly proclaimed for not appearing in answer to the summons, although they had been subsequently forbidden by the Queen to put in an appear-

ance. On the day that the news reached Perth it chanced that Knox preached against the mass and the worship of images. As the congregation was dispersing, a priest began preparations for the saying of mass. A youth called out "Idolatry!" and the priest dealt him a blow, whereupon the lad retaliated by throwing a stone, which shattered one of the images on the altar. The noise of the falling pieces roused the attention of those who still lingered in the church, and, aided by loiterers from the street, they fell upon the images and crucifixes. From the church the excited crowd passed to the monasteries, destroying the images and sacking the cloisters. The Queen set out with a hastily collected army to punish the "rebels," but when she reached the city she found the Reformers fully prepared to meet her, and she astonished them by making overtures of peace, which the lords of the congregation accepted on condition that the free profession of the Evangel was granted. On this understanding peaceable possession of the city was given to the Queen.

The lords of the congregation thought that the time had come for openly setting up the Reformed Faith in all places where the majority of the inhabitants were favourable to the design, and it was decided to make a beginning in St. Andrews, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Scotland. Early in June, 1559, Knox was appointed to preach in the cathedral. The archbishop threatened to have him shot if he attempted to enter the pulpit; and the lords, fearing bloodshed, were minded to abandon

the enterprise. But John Knox was no craven. He recalled how, when chained to the deck of a French galley years before, he had watched the sun glint on the roof of this same cathedral. Then he had felt the conviction that he would preach under that roof, and, now that he had, almost miraculously, been brought back to the city, the way seemed open to him: he would not be daunted by any danger, feeling that He Whose glory he sought would be his shield. "I only crave audience," he said, "which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek where I may have it."

It is not too much to say that Knox's boldness at this juncture saved the Reformation in Scotland. He preached on several successive days to influential congregations in St. Andrews, with the result that the magistrates and townspeople unanimously resolved to set up the Reformed worship in the city; and, while the churches were stripped of their Popish ornaments, the monasteries were pulled down. Speedily other places followed the example of St. Andrews, and the Protestant worship was set up at Crail, at Cupar, at Lindores, at Linlithgow, at Scone, at Edinburgh, and at Glasgow. In its zeal the populace dealt very roughly with the beautiful old buildings in which the monks—upon whom the fury of the rising was concentrated—had made their home. And some who forget the righteous motive which spurred on the people recall only the wreckage for which they were answerable.

CHAPTER XXI.

JOHN KNOX AND HIS WORK.

The Romish Hierarchy Suppressed in Scotland—Queen Mary Temporises—Her Interviews with John Knox—The Reformer Charged with Treason—The Queen's Marriages and Dethronement—Her Flight into England—Death of Knox—Organisation of the Presbyterian Church.

For a few months the Queen-Regent and the lords of the congregation faced one another, but throughout the struggle Knox, although he was an outlaw with a price upon his head, was the life and soul of the movement for Reform. He saw in the Queen's summoning of fresh French troops to her aid a move in the Franco-Spanish scheme for the suppression of Protestantism, and he warned the ministers of Elizabeth that if they allowed Reform to be stifled in Scotland that country would certainly be used as a new point from which to assail the religious liberties of England. As a result, aid was sent to the lords of the congregation from England, and the influx of French troops into Scotland was stopped.

The Queen-Dowager died in July, 1560, and the Regency passed into the hands of the Reformers; for Mary Queen of Scots was absent in France, where her dying husband had succeeded a year before to the throne. When the Estates of the

Realm met, they promptly decreed the suppression of the Romish hierarchy, and the adoption of Protestantism as set forth in Knox's "First Scots Confession." This was voted on August 17th, 1560, while a week later another law forbade even the celebration of the mass in Scotland.

Without the royal assent the new law must fail of binding effect; and this assent was withheld pending the return of Queen Mary. Her husband, Francis II., was a dying man when he succeeded to the French throne, and in December, 1560, he passed away, leaving the hapless Mary a childless widow, who still lacked three days of eighteen years. In France the reins of power passed into the hands of the Queen-Mother, Catherine de Medici; and in August, 1561, Mary set foot once more in Scotland, from which she had been absent since the summer of 1548. The Scottish nobles gave a chivalrous welcome to the daughter and heiress of their royal house, and the Queen and her French advisers were not slow to seize upon a difficulty which was already causing dissension in the ranks of the Reformers. Knox had proposed that the revenues of the Roman Catholic Church, which was being disestablished, should, after due provision had been made for the support of the dispossessed incumbents, be divided into three parts. One third he proposed to allot to the support of the Protestant ministers, another to the establishment of a comprehensive system of national education, and the third to the relief of the poor. This truly patriotic division of the property was too

much for the cupidity of some of the nobles, who looked with longing on the estates of the Church. Knox was still combating the unwillingness of the nobles to sacrifice their own self-interest to the common weal, when Mary returned, and the glamour of her name was used against him.

Mary returned to Scotland knowing the plans of France and Spain for the overthrow of Protestantism, and that she herself, as great-granddaughter of Henry VII. of England, was the pivot upon which turned the entire plan as it affected England and Scotland. But she found her country apparently pledged to the Reformation, and she resolved at first to temporise with its leaders. She took no overt steps against the Reformers, but she asserted her own right to have mass said in her chapel at Holyrood on the first Sunday after her arrival. Some of the citizens of Edinburgh were for forcibly preventing the celebration of the ceremony which had been forbidden by the Estates of the Realm. Knox restrained them, but a week later he gave evidence that he had not done so from any lack of sympathy with their aims, by preaching from the pulpit of St. Giles's on the sin of idolatry. "One mass," he said, "is more fearful to me than if 10,000 armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, of purpose to suppress the whole religion."

This sermon led to the historic interview between the Queen and the Reformer. Mary accused Knox of teaching the people "to disobey both God and their prince," since it is a divine command to

subjects to obey their prince, and Knox had urged the Scottish people to receive another religion than that which she as their sovereign allowed. The Reformer's reply was that, as right religion received neither its origin nor its authority from princes, but from the Eternal God alone, subjects are not bound to frame their religion according to the tastes of their princes. Further, he justified, as an act in agreement with the will of God, resistance to princes who persecuted the faithful. Such resistance was to be regarded as equivalent to opposition to the frenzy of a parent, which leads him to slay his own children.

The boldness of Knox's attitude, and the startling nature of his propositions, can hardly be appreciated in an age which is the heir of three centuries of further refutation of the doctrine of "the right divine to govern wrong," which was then the practically unchallenged creed of Christendom.

"God forbid," said Knox, in response to a petulant outburst of Mary's, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or to set subjects at liberty to do whatever pleases them. My travail is that both subjects and princes may obey God, Who craves of kings that they be as it were foster-fathers to His Church, and commands queens to be nurses to His people."

This brought from Mary the defiant reply that Knox's was not the Kirk which she would nourish. "I will defend the Kirk of Rome," she said, "for it is, I think, the true Kirk of God."

Knox offered to prove that the Church of the

Jews which crucified the Lord had not so far degenerated from the ordinances and statutes given it of God as the Church of Rome from the purity of the religion which the Apostles taught. "Madam," he urged, "would to God that the learnedest papist in Europe, and he that you would best believe, were with your Grace, to sustain the argument, and that you would patiently hear the matter to an end: for then I doubt not, madam, that you would know the vanity of the Papistical religion, and how little foundation it has in the Word of God."

"Well," said the Queen, "you may perchance get that sooner than you believe."

"Assuredly," was the confident reply. "If I ever get it in my life I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant Papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty Papist will not come in your presence, madam, to have the grounds of his belief searched out; for they know that they cannot sustain the argument unless fire and sword and their own laws be judges. When you shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to have been deceived in that point."

The Queen had done nothing to shake Knox's resolution, nor had she weakened his goodwill toward her as his sovereign; for, as the interview ended, "I pray God," he said, "that ye may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland as ever was Deborah in the commonwealth of Israel." But, whatever may have been Knox's respect for Mary's office, no sympathy was possible between

them. Mary had returned to Scotland to re-establish the Church of Rome, and Knox had been recalled to his native land to establish and confirm the Reformation. Neither doubted that the battle must be fought to an end.

Mary temporised over the ratification of the Act of 1560, which had established the Reformation, and all the arts of the Court were brought to bear upon the nobles to win their assent to a division of the ecclesiastical property in a manner more favourable to the Crown and nobles than had originally been proposed by Knox, whose statesmanlike scheme would have provided liberally both for the Reformed ministers and for the due education of the youth of the land. It was a bitter disappointment to Knox that the nobles did not stand more firmly by their pledges, and from his pulpit at St. Giles's he thundered against their cowardice, and denounced Mary's project of marriage with Darnley, who, if he had any religious convictions, was a Roman Catholic, and upon whom, scarcely less than upon Mary, the hopes of Roman Catholics were centred because of his relationship to the English royal family. Again Knox was summoned to the Court to give an account of his words to the Queen, who was now thoroughly enraged with him.

"What have you to do with my marriage?" she asked of the Reformer, "or what are you in this commonwealth?"

There is a fine ring about Knox's reply. "A subject born within the same, madam, and albeit

I be neither earl, lord, nor baron in it, yet has God made me, how abject that ever I be in your eyes, a profitable member within the same."

And with this steadfast preface he proceeded boldly to repeat before the Queen the words of that sermon to his congregation at St. Giles's, the mere report of which had driven Mary to tears of mortification. If the Queen had had her way, the Reformer would even then have been put upon his trial for treason, but the Council would not agree to this course. However, another opportunity soon came, when, in the autumn of 1563, Knox took the side of two Edinburgh Protestants who had been cast into prison for opposing the celebration of the mass by Mary's foreign servants at Holyrood during the absence of the Court at Stirling. Knox urged all Protestants who could do so to attend the trial of these two citizens, to see that they had fair dealing; and for this "convocation of the Queen's lieges" Knox was charged with treason before the Queen and Council in December, 1563.

"That man," said the Queen, as she saw him stand on his defence at the foot of the Council table, "made me weep, and shed never a tear himself. I will now see if I can make him weep." But she failed signally, for the lords of the Council unanimously voted that Knox had in no way violated the law. The result of this trial was to increase Knox's hold on his fellow-countrymen, and the Protestant spirit in the provinces was strengthened by the preaching tours which he made.

The chief of the Protestant nobles at this time was Lord James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Moray, who held a high position in Mary's favour from his blood relationship to her. No less than Knox, Moray opposed the marriage of the Queen to Darnley, and when the marriage took place in July, 1565, he raised the standard of revolt. The rising was quickly suppressed by the Queen, and Moray was driven across the border into exile. But it was only for a few months.

In the spring of 1566 he was again in Edinburgh, and he was ready to counsel or lead the Reformers in all the crises which now arose in rapid succession. When the horrible murder of Darnley in February, 1567, was speedily followed by Mary's marriage to the dissolute and brutal Bothwell, all parties in the State combined against her. At Carberry Hill, her forces encountered and were defeated by those of the nobles, and the Queen, carried captive to Edinburgh, abdicated in favour of her infant son, James, on whose behalf Moray was appointed Regent. The hapless Mary was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, but after a few months there she made her escape, and, with the aid of the Hamiltons, made her last stand on Scottish soil against Moray and the Protestants at Langside, on May 12th, 1568. The Regent won an easy victory, and four days later Mary forded the Solway into England. The end of the nineteen years' exile which then began was the block in Fotheringhay Castle. The only link between Mary's tragic story and the story of the Reformation in

Scotland after her flight from the country is that the immediate cause of her execution was her connection with a Papist plot against Queen Elizabeth.

With Mary's withdrawal from Scotland an end was put to the anomalous position of the Reformed Church; for the Parliament which met on December 15th, 1567, ratified the laws of 1560 forbidding the celebration of the mass and setting up the Evangel. Under "The Good Regent," as Moray has been called, the land had peace, and the foundations of the new ecclesiastical order which had been elaborated by Knox were laid deep and strong. But there were troublous times still in store for Knox and the Scottish Reformers. At the beginning of 1570 the Regent Moray was assassinated, and under the feeble rule of the Earls of Lennox and Mar, who succeeded him in turn, some measure of the former disunity manifested itself. The more fickle among the nobles showed a disposition to take the part of the exiled Queen against the young King and the Regent, and faction feeling grew so strong that for a time Knox had to remove from Edinburgh to St. Andrews, where, despite his increasing feebleness, he frequently preached, and with such earnestness and vehemence that, as one of his hearers has said, "He was like to ding the pulpit in blads [*i.e.* break it in pieces] and flie out of it."

But the end was near, and he returned to Edinburgh in August, 1572. His last public appearance was on November 9th in that year,

when he preached in the Tolbooth Church, on the occasion of the installation of the minister who had been chosen as his colleague and successor. When the service was ended, and Knox had exhorted his charge and flock to adhere steadfastly to the faith which they had professed, the congregation lined the way as he walked slowly down the High Street, leaning on the arm of his servant, to the house which he was destined not to leave again in life. It was not until November 24th that the great Reformer died, full of faith to the last. His friends asked for a sign that he died in peace, and the chronicler of his last days says, "As if he had received new strength in death, he lifted one of his hands towards heaven, and sighing twice, departed with the calmness of one fallen into sleep." The Earl of Morton, who had only just succeeded Mar as Regent, was among the vast crowd which gathered in the churchyard of St. Giles's when Knox was laid to rest, and summed up his character in the words, which he is said to have spoken over the open grave, "Here lieth a man who in his life never feared the face of man."

The movement which thus lost such a leader was at this moment passing through a trying crisis. Queen Mary, although a prisoner in England, had many friends among the nobles, and the Regent Morton was in the pay of Elizabeth, and was suspected of a willingness to bring about conformity between the ecclesiastical systems of England and Scotland, by the introduction of the royal supremacy over the Church together with

episcopacy. And among the nobles who were at least outwardly Presbyterians were some who were aiding Morton in his plans for maintaining bishoprics, but less for love of episcopacy than for greed of the diocesan revenues.

Even before Knox's death the question of these "tulchan" bishops, as they were called, had created no little stir—a tulchan being a straw-stuffed calf-skin which was used by Scottish farmers to make reluctant cows part with their milk. Similarly the tulchan bishops bore the episcopal title, but did no diocesan duties, and gave up, by a simoniacal bargain, the greater part of their stipend to the noble or laird to whom they owed their appointment. Against this abuse the Reformers protested, and their chief spokesman was one not unworthy to carry on the work of Knox. This was Andrew Melville, who returned to his native Scotland from Geneva two years after the grave had closed upon the great Reformer. Fresh from the school of Calvin, he threw himself at once into the fight against the tulchan bishops, and into the closer organisation of the ecclesiastical system of Scotland, which was rendered necessary first by the formal ratification by the State of the laws of 1560, and soon by the growing evidences of a desire on the part of the young King to establish over the Kirk a royal supremacy, on the English model.

The Presbyterian order had been accepted by Knox and the Scottish people, and Melville and his colleagues saw in the efforts of the Court and

the nobles to maintain at least the form of episcopacy, an insidious attack on their ideal of a Church which should be autonomous in spiritual matters. So far as the General Assembly (the chief court of the Scottish Reformed Church) was concerned, the office of bishops was done away with in 1580, but it was not until 1638 that this decision was finally accepted by the civil power, and meanwhile the point was one which gave rise to frequent differences of opinion. The Reformers' ideal was clearly set out in "The Book of Policy" or "Second Book of Discipline," which was sanctioned by the General Assembly in 1578, and ratified by Parliament in 1592.

King James had nominally assumed the reins of government in 1578, when he was only twelve years of age, and he was from the first largely swayed by favourites, some of whom were more than suspected of being the tools of the Roman Catholic Powers that were intriguing against Protestantism, and particularly against the Reformation in England and Scotland. These favourites encouraged the young King in his opposition to the General Assembly, but James's policy was probably dictated more by political than theological considerations. He saw the danger to his own absolutist schemes which lay in an independent Church; and the contest which was waged with varying fortunes between the Court and the General Assembly had no small part in preparing the minds of Scotsmen for the rule of a constitutional monarchy side by side with an independent and a democratic Church.

Both parties to this long contest were Protestants; and in 1581, when it was clear that the Roman Catholics were mustering for an attack on the liberties of Protestant Britain, King, Council, and General Assembly united in the National Covenant, which expressly renewed the Protestant Confession of 1560, repudiated the Papist tenets, and gave a pledge of adherence to the Presbyterian order, and of loyalty to the King in defending the faith. This Covenant was renewed by all ranks and classes in 1590, and again in 1596, even before James succeeded Elizabeth on the throne of England and united the fortunes of English and Scottish Protestants.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE HUGUENOTS.

The Protestant Movement in France under Henry II. and Francis II.—Gaspard de Coligny—Catherine de Medici—Theodore Beza and the Colloquy at Poissy—Massacre of the Huguenots—Civil War—The Pacification of Amboise—Further Outbreaks—The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's—Accession of Henry IV.—The Edict of Nantes.

In an earlier chapter the story was told of the birth of Protestantism in France, and of the persecution which, following the publication of the famous "Placards" in 1534, incidentally prevented the return of Calvin to his native land. The immediate loss of France proved the eternal gain of Geneva, and, indeed, of the whole civilised world; but we must turn again to the story of the struggle for religious reform in the country of Calvin and Lefèvre.

So long as Francis I. continued to reign in France—and his death did not take place until twelve and a half years after the "night of the Placards"—the persecution raged and the flames were fed with victims. His son Henry II., who succeeded him in 1547, followed in his father's footsteps; and, even when he quarrelled with Pope Julius III., was careful by rigorous enforcement of the laws against heresy to justify the hereditary claim of the King of France to be re-

garded as "the Eldest Son of the Church." Yet through all the persecution—or perhaps because of it—the Reformed Faith found every day new adherents.

Soon it was seen that there was no class of French society, no city, province, or calling, which did not furnish converts to "the Religion," as the pure faith began to be called. Among those who were on the Protestant side were Antoine de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme and first Prince of the blood, and Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, his brother. Probably the most powerful man in France, next to the King, was the Constable Montmorency, as steadfast an adherent of Roman Catholicism as was Henry himself; but he was no more able than his master to guarantee the fidelity of his kinsmen; and two of his nephews, prominent in the growing ranks of Protestants, were Admiral Gaspard de Coligny and his brother François de Chatillon, better known as the Sieur d'Andelot.

The later years of Henry II. were largely occupied in plotting with Philip II. of Spain for the extirpation of Protestantism, and it was not to be expected that he would connive at its growth in his own realm. But death claimed him before all his plans for rooting out the faithful could be matured. He had organised great fêtes in celebration of the marriage of his daughter Isabella to Philip of Spain, the widower of Mary Tudor and the unsuccessful suitor of Queen Elizabeth, and in a tournament he accidentally received

a wound from which he died on July 10th, 1559. His successor on the throne was his eldest son, who now reigned as Francis II., and was the husband of the sixteen-year-old Mary Queen of Scots. The King's mother, Catherine de Medici, disputed the control of the young sovereign with Mary's kinsfolk the Guises, but the affection of Francis for Mary threw the weight of power into their hands. Only the rivalry between the Queen-mother and the Guises, humanly speaking, saved the growing Protestant Church in France from extermination at this juncture. And it is probably true that the political supremacy of the Guises had some part in driving the Bourbon princes, Antoine de Bourbon and his brother the Prince of Condé, into the arms of the Reformers.

Antoine de Bourbon had married Jeanne d'Albret, who had inherited the genius as well as the crown of her mother, Margaret de Valois, Queen of Navarre. His brother, the Prince of Condé, was certainly actuated more by conviction than was Antoine in the support which he gave to the Reformation. But however great the political lustre that the association with the Bourbons may have shed on the Reformation, a grander figure than theirs in the tragic story of the Evangel in France is that of Gaspard de Coligny.

Coligny was born in 1517, the year of the publication of Luther's "Theses," and at an early age he elected to follow the profession of arms. He won distinction on the battle-fields of Flanders and Italy, and although he is known in history

as the admiral, it would seem that Coligny's naval rank was really a titular honour, and it was as a military commander and administrator that he achieved the great position which he held in France even before he won a wider and more lasting fame as a soldier of the Cross.

After the siege and capture of St. Quentin by the Spaniards in 1557, Coligny was made prisoner, and beguiled the hours of his captivity by reading the Bible and other religious books; and from that incident came his attachment to the Reformed doctrines. His decision was made after long and prayerful consideration, and Coligny resolved to place at the disposal of those who were now his fellow French Protestants the abilities which had hitherto been solely at the command of the King.

Coligny's conversion to Protestantism must have taken place in the closing months of the reign of Henry II., and in the year after that monarch's death Jeanne d'Albret also gave her adhesion to the Reformed religion. She brought to the cause a devotion as steadfast and sincere as that of her husband was vacillating, and very soon after her profession of Protestantism she caused the public use of the Roman Catholic worship to cease in her own territory of Béarn, which quickly became a nursing-ground for French Protestantism and a haven of refuge for the exiled victims of the continued persecution, which scattered but did not daunt the faithful.

The reign of Francis II. was brief, but it was marked by the ascendency of the Guises and by a

relentless persecution of the Protestants. "Nothing was to be seen in the streets," says Beza, writing of Paris in those days, "but soldiers carrying men and women, and persons of all ages and every rank, to prison." So odious became the rule of the Guises that many Roman Catholics as well as Protestants joined in a purely political plot to seize the person of the young King and remove him from his tyrannical advisers. The plot was betrayed to Catherine de Medici, and by her was revealed to the Court, with the result that vast numbers of the conspirators and their abettors were put to death; and the Prince of Condé, who had been privy to the plot, was thrown into prison, and would undoubtedly have been executed had not the young King died, in December, 1560, before the prince's death warrant was signed.

With the accession of Charles IX., the late King's brother, in the tenth year of his age, the reins of power passed from the hands of the Guises into those of Catherine de Medici as Queen-mother, but the change implied no more than a momentary increase of toleration for the Huguenots, as the French Protestants now began to be called. In her anxiety to play off any other party against the Guises, and to hold the balance at least until her own position was secure, Catherine made some display of moderation, with the result that the Roman Catholics combined under a "Triumvirate" to press for sterner measures of repression. The Duke of Guise was the first member of the trio who headed the movement, and with him were

associated the Constable Montmorency and the Marshal St. André.

Financial pressure led to a proposal to the States-General that the property enjoyed by the Church in France should be regarded as belonging to the nation, and this led to the further proposal of a colloquy—the bishops and priests objected to its being called a "Council"—for the discussion of the religious question. This colloquy took place at Poissy, a little town to the west of Paris, on September 9th, 1561. Theodore Beza, then second only to Calvin among the Swiss Reformers, was induced by the King of Navarre to act as chief spokesman of the Reformers. He was a skilled diplomatist as well as a great scholar, and in courteous but confident language he put before the Court the Protestant position with such eloquence that the Cardinal of Lorraine, the brother of the Duke of Guise, was impelled to ejaculate, "Would to God that Beza had been dumb or we deaf!"

As in the German controversies with Luther, a few days were granted to the Roman Catholics for the preparation of their reply to Beza; and when this was presented, Beza and the Protestant deputies were told that they had but one course, and that was to confess that they were vanquished. When they refused, the Cardinal sent for some German divines from Metz, hoping that their differences with the Swiss and French Reformers on the question of the Lord's Supper would weaken the position of the Protestants. But the German deputation, being smitten by the plague, could

not safely be introduced to the colloquy, and the Cardinal was obliged to manage without them. "Do you," he asked Beza, "like the Lutherans of Germany, admit consubstantiation?" "And do you," rejoined Beza with ready wit, "like them, deny transubstantiation?"

One result of the colloquy was to give a great impetus to the formation of Reformed congregations; and in January, 1562, an Assembly of Notables at St. Germain passed an edict which granted to the Huguenots the free exercise of their religion, and the right to assemble at sermons, but unarmed, and in open places outside the cities.

Inadequate as the measure of toleration was, it had a marked effect in bringing out open declarations of adherence to the Reformed Faith, and the Romanists saw with alarm that the Reformed Church could count, in more than two thousand congregations, upon a fourth of the entire population of France. The Triumvirate believed that they were being betrayed by the Queen-mother, and the Pope was induced to write to Catherine to rekindle her "dying" zeal for the defence of the faith of her country and her house, and at the same time the unstable King of Navarre was won over to the side of Rome by empty promises which fed his ambition. The Duke of Guise had been spending the winter on his country estate; but a few weeks after the issue of the edict of January he received a summons to return to Paris, where a succession of denunciations from every

Roman Catholic altar against the toleration of heresy had inflamed the baser part of the Papist population against the Huguenots. As the Duke's cavalcade passed through the town of Vassy, about ten miles out of Paris, on Sunday, March 1st, he heard the bell summoning the Huguenots to sermon, and, without provocation, his followers fell upon the defenceless congregation, killing from sixty to eighty persons and wounding nearly three hundred. This outrage went unpunished by the authors of the edict of January, and the Duke entered Paris to be greeted as a conqueror; and the news of his reception spurred the Romanists to activity all over the country, until the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne were stained with Protestant blood. Massacres of the Huguenot minority were general, as was to be expected, seeing that a new edict was issued on June 8th, empowering anyone who met a Huguenot to kill him offhand.

Upon the Romanists, for their breach of the tolerating edict of January, 1562, even before its ink was dry, must rest the responsibility for the civil war which now began. With a full sense of their responsibility, the Huguenot chiefs decided to draw the sword in defence of their faith and of the civil rights of which they had been treacherously robbed. Of Coligny, the noblest of the leaders, it is told that he hesitated long to advise taking the field, until one night his wife woke him from sleep by her laments over the fate of their brethren of the Religion. "Can we sleep in peace," she sobbed, "without hearing our brethren's last

groanings?" "Are you prepared," asked the admiral in reply, "to hear of my defeat, to see me dragged to a scaffold and put to death by the common hangman? Are you prepared to see our name branded, our estates confiscated, and our children made beggars? I will give you," he continued, "three weeks to think on these things, and when you have fortified yourself against them I will go forth to perish with my brethren." "The three weeks are gone already," was the prompt and noble reply. "Go in God's name, and He will not suffer you to be defeated."

The Prince of Condé and Coligny's brother d'Andelot had already seized Orleans, and it was to this rendezvous that Coligny made his way to meet his co-religionists. Before they unsheathed the sword, the Huguenots partook of the Lord's Supper, and afterwards subscribed an "Act of Association," in which they pledged themselves to fidelity to God and to one another, and to obedience to Condé as their leader; and they declared themselves in arms for "the defence of the King's honour and liberty, the maintenance of the pure worship of God, and the due observance of the edicts." Speaking generally, all France south of the Loire declared for the Huguenots, and Normandy took the same side; but Paris was in the hands of the Romanists. The big battalions were from the first with the Romanists, who besieged and sacked Rouen in October, 1562, losing, however, the fickle King of Navarre, who died from a wound received during the siege.

Seven weeks later the two armies met at Dreux, and again the Huguenots failed to achieve victory. The Prince of Condé was taken prisoner by the Duke of Guise, but at the same time the Constable Montmorency fell into the hands of the Huguenots, and the Marshal St. André was among the killed. The Duke of Guise became undisputed chief of the Romanists, and Coligny took the place of Condé as head of the Huguenots. Part of the Protestant force, under d'Andelot, hurried to Orleans, followed by the Duke of Guise, who laid siege to the place, and was preparing to take it by storm when he was assassinated on February 18th, 1563. Catherine de Medici, who was now relieved of the Guises, made haste to conclude negotiations of peace with the captive Prince of Condé, and the result of their parleys was the unsatisfactory Pacification of Amboise, which fell far short of restoring the liberties granted by the edict of January, 1562. The treaty was signed on April 19th, 1563, and its value may be judged from Coligny's remark when it was communicated to him: "This stroke of the pen," he said, "has ruined more churches than our enemies could have knocked down in ten years."

The peace which followed was illusive, for its four years were filled by a constant succession of murders of individual Protestants and by ceaseless intrigues on the part of Catherine with Spanish and papal envoys. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the dreadful scheme which culminated in 1572 in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day

was hatched during this interval, between Catherine and the Duke of Alva, the envoy of Philip II. of Spain. Hearing that the Queen-mother was bringing foreign mercenaries into the country, Condé and Coligny again took up arms in November, 1567, and won an inconclusive victory over the Royalist general, Montmorency. Three months later, another unsatisfactory "peace" was signed at Longjumeau. But no sooner had the Huguenot army been disbanded than the massacres and plottings began once more, and Condé and Coligny took up arms for the third time, only to be defeated on the field of Jarnac, on March 13th, 1569, by Catherine's third son, the Duke of Anjou. The Prince of Condé was killed in this engagement.

At this juncture Jeanne d'Albret joined the almost despondent Huguenots. Attended by Coligny, she rode along their ranks, having on one hand her son the Prince of Béarn (afterwards Henry IV. of France), and on the other her nephew Henry, son of the fallen Prince of Condé. "Children of God and of France," said she, addressing the soldiers, "Condé is dead; but is all therefore lost? No; the God who gave him courage and strength to fight for this cause has raised up others worthy to succeed him. To those brave warriors I add my son. Make proof of his valour. Soldiers! I offer you everything I have to give—my dominions, my treasures, my life, and, what is dearer to me than all, my children. I swear to defend to my last sigh the holy cause that now unites us!"

The hope that this accession brought the Huguenots was, however, short-lived, for on October 3rd, 1569, Coligny was again defeated by the Duke of Anjou, at Moncontour. Coligny was himself wounded, and of the 25,000 men whom he led into action only 8,000 remained with him when the disastrous day ended. Coligny was proclaimed an outlaw and his estates were confiscated; but he gathered a new army with the aid of Jeanne d'Albret, and boldly marched on Paris, winning one or two trifling victories over the Duke of Anjou on the way thither, and thus wresting another Pacification from the Court. This treaty, which was signed at St. Germain-en-Laye on August 8th, 1570, put four cities into the hands of the Huguenots, and granted them an amnesty for all their past "offences," as well as liberty to worship as they pleased outside Paris.

One of the strongholds of the Huguenots was La Rochelle, and here, in 1571, a synod of the Reformed Church was held under the presidency of Beza, who, now that Calvin was dead, was generally regarded as the leader of French and Swiss Protestants. Encouraging reports of the congregations were presented by the pastors and delegates, and it seemed as if brighter days were in store for the much-tried French Protestants. But the same tokens of success which gladdened the hearts of the Huguenots roused the alarms of the Roman Catholics. Dark hints began to circulate that the work which war could not accomplish should be done by massacre and murder.

After the battle of Jarnac, Pope Pius V., in a letter to Charles IX. of France, urged him to take for example, and never lose sight of, what happened to Saul, who was deprived of his throne and life because he failed to exterminate the infidel Amalekites. And in the same bloodthirsty strain the Pope wrote to Catherine de Medici, to the Duke of Anjou, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine. Evidence is not wanting that, as early as 1565, Philip of Spain had agreed with the Queen-mother upon measures for the extirpation of the "heretics" both in Flanders and in France.

After the signing of the Pacification of Amboise, the Huguenot leaders had withdrawn to La Rochelle, and for some months all the blandishments of Catherine and the Court failed to entice them from their security. But in the summer of 1571 there came envoys from the Court to La Rochelle with two propositions which must have borne an attractive sound to the Huguenots. One was the revival of a scheme for the marriage of the young King of Navarre, the son of Jeanne d'Albret, with Margaret of Valois, daughter of Henry II. and sister of the reigning Charles IX. The other was a proposal to send an expedition to Flanders for the support of the Prince of Orange against Spain.

Coligny, wary as he was reputed to be, was the first of the leaders to yield, and in September, 1571, he presented himself at the Court at Blois, where he was received with rapture by the King. The pensions and dignities of which he had formerly been deprived were restored to the Huguenot

leader, and, deaf to repeated warnings of impending treachery or massacre, he not only remained with the Court in the hope that by doing so he might use some influence towards detaching his country from the entanglement of the Spanish alliance, but pressed upon the Queen of Navarre the desirability of the marriage of her son with the sister of the King of France and the daughter of Catherine de Medici. With some misgivings, Jeanne gave her consent, and then paid a visit to the Court, where she was seized with sudden illness and died in a few days. Preparations for the marriage went on, with the full concurrence of Coligny, and all the time the King and his mother were perfecting their plans for ridding France of the Huguenots who were expected in Paris for the ceremony and its attendant fêtes.

On August 18th the wedding took place, under a dispensation from Gregory XIII., who had just succeeded Pope Pius V. For four days Paris was apparently given up to festivity; then, on the fourth day after the wedding, Coligny was shot at as he was returning from the palace to his lodging. To the friends who gathered round his bedside the wounded leader said: "Why do you weep for me, friends? I reckon myself happy to have received these wounds in the cause of God."

Both Papists and Protestants saw in the attack on the admiral a warning of what was to follow. Coligny's assailant was a henchman of the Guises, and the crafty design was that this selection would

provoke a counter attack by the Huguenots upon the Duke's retainers, and thus afford an excuse for a general rising in retaliation. But the expected rising did not take place, and two days were spent in consultations by both sides.

Under the pretext of protecting Coligny, Royalist troops were drawn round the quarter in which he was lodged, and orders were given for a general massacre of Protestants at daybreak on the morning of St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th. The signal was to be given by the tolling of the bell of the Palace of Justice; but an hour or two after midnight—it is said by the order of Catherine de Medici—the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, which was nearer to the palace of the Louvre, was rung, and in another moment every steeple in Paris joined in the alarm. At once the Duke of Guise headed a party of men three hundred strong, who made for Coligny's house, where the admiral, awakened by the tumult, had summoned his chaplain to join him in prayer. They were interrupted by one of Coligny's staff, who rushed into the room, saying: "My lord, God calls us to Himself." Bidding his friends save themselves if they could, the brave Coligny faced the band of seven assassins who now forced the door of the room, headed by Behme of Lorraine, who asked the gallant Huguenot: "Art thou Coligny?" Receiving the admiral's calm answer, he replied by thrusting his sword into his breast, and the deadly work thus begun was at once completed by the daggers of the rest of the band.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.

The body was thrown out of the window to the Duke of Guise, and the head was carried as a trophy to the King and his mother.

All through the night, similar scenes were enacted in every part of Paris. Nobles who had come to the capital in the retinue of the bridegroom of the King's sister, and who might therefore have been held to be the guests of the Court, were among the victims of the fury which now raged. Faithful pastors, gallant soldiers, peaceful citizens, tender women, all went to sate the terrible lust for blood which years of intriguing and of fiery harangues had engendered in the minds of the Papists against their Huguenot fellow-subjects. And what went on in Paris was repeated throughout the country, until, according to Sully, the total number of victims reached seventy thousand. The horrors of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, in France, cannot here be told; but the murder of the great Coligny was but the type of countless similar crimes. Small wonder that, while the Spanish army in the Netherlands greeted the news with salvoes of cannon, and the Pope had a medal struck in honour of his "victory," England, Scotland, Geneva, and all the Protestant States were petrified with horror.

As though to prove that treachery could no more subdue their spirit than could open warfare, the scattered remnant of the Huguenots at once fled to arms. Sancerre and La Rochelle were gallantly held against the Royalists under the Duke of Anjou; and when that prince with-

drew to assume the crown of Poland, the Huguenots had so far rallied that they were in a position, on the first anniversary of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, to dictate new terms of toleration to the Court. Charles IX. died within two years of the massacre, and his brother was recalled from Poland to succeed him as Henry III., and as a persecutor of the Huguenots. But the King of Navarre came to the front at this juncture, and brought over a moderate party of Roman Catholics, headed by Henry's youngest brother, who was jealous of the position in the counsels of the King which was usurped by the Guises. So successful was this combination in winning the King from the Guise interest that it provoked the Duke to form the "League" of Papists, which played so sad a part in French history, and whose original object was to thwart Henry III. in his alliance with the King of Navarre, and bar the succession of the latter to the throne. By the march of events, especially after the assassination of the Duke of Guise and the fury which it aroused in the Papist ranks, the King was thrown more and more into the arms of the King of Navarre; and when at length Henry III. was stabbed by a monk in his own tent in 1589, Henry of Navarre succeeded him as Henry IV. of France.

Before the new King had recanted his Protestantism he found his path to the throne barred by the League and by Philip of Spain, but he defeated their forces at Ivry on March 14th, 1590, and three years later he disappointed the Hugue-

nots, but established his own position, by openly and formally adopting the Roman Catholic faith. That he, "the Knight of the White Plume," the son of the good Queen of Navarre, should take this step, filled the Huguenots with alarm, and they formed themselves into a political association to defeat the machinations of the Roman Catholic League. The new association grew daily stronger, and as it grew the King found himself pressed into war with Spain. He needed the help of all Frenchmen, and particularly of French Protestants, to save the crown which he had won by his abjuration of his mother's faith. Impelled not only by this need, but also, one would like to think, by some regard for his old associates and their struggles, he granted the famous Edict of Nantes —styled "perpetual and irrevocable"—on April 15th, 1598. This Magna Charta of the French Reformation granted liberty of conscience to all, and its operation immediately gave peace to the troubled land, and inaugurated an era of prosperity.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE NEW FORCE.

The "Society of Jesus" and the Inquisition—Reform Movements in Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia—The Reformation in Scandinavia and the Low Countries—The Duke of Alva and William the Silent—Divisions amongst Protestants—The Thirty Years' War—The Treaty of Westphalia—The Waldenses—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

THE rise of all the chief streams which went to make up the great Reformation has now been traced. All the various national movements were parts of one greater impulse which knew nothing of territorial boundaries, and a survey must now be taken of the wide field over which the papal army fought in its efforts to recover the lost ground. The summoning of the Council of Trent has been chronicled, as well as the conclusion, in 1555, of the Peace of Augsburg, under which it was conceded that Protestant States might legally exist within the Empire, side by side with those whose rulers still yielded ecclesiastical allegiance to the Roman Pontiff.

It was not to be expected that Rome would quietly submit to such a rebuff as was implied in the Peace of Augsburg, and successive Popes made strenuous efforts to regain the old position of the Papacy. One weapon in their hand, but

newly forged, was the "Society of Jesus," instituted by Ignatius Loyola, sanctioned by Paul III. in 1540, and adding to the customary three monastic vows a fourth of absolute obedience to the Pope. The second weapon was not new to the Popish armoury, for it was the "Holy Office" of the Inquisition, which had already been employed for nearly three centuries in the faithful hands of the Dominicans. Except in Spain and her dependencies, where its chief officers were appointed by the Crown and not by the ecclesiastical authorities, Rome had allowed this weapon to fall somewhat into disuse; but now it was furbished up; and less than two years after the institution of the Jesuits, the Holy Office was once more revived in full force by Pope Paul III.

The middle of the sixteenth century saw Lutheranism extend its borders even beyond those of the Empire. Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia all had to acknowledge their indebtedness to the disciples of Luther for fresh Reform movements. The awakening in Scotland was due, as has been shown, to the preaching of a student from Wittenberg, and the Scandinavian kingdoms still maintain the Lutheran creed which they adopted in the early days of the Reformation.

Prior to 1520, the three Scandinavian kingdoms were under the rule of Christian II. of Denmark; but his tyrannies roused his people to rebellion, and after a struggle which lasted three years, Christian II. was driven from the country. Denmark, of which Norway then formed a dependency,

chose for its king Frederick I., Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, who was an ardent follower of Luther and ruler of a State already reformed. The Romish clergy were rich and powerful when Frederick ascended the throne, but within four years the Lutheran preachers had won over so large a proportion of the population that toleration for their tenets was decreed; and in 1536, under Frederick's successor, Christian III., the Reformation was firmly established in Denmark.

The Swedish Reformation, like that of Denmark, went hand in hand with the movement which deposed Christian II. from the throne and set up in his stead Gustavus Vasa, a young Swedish noble. In the exile which preceded his successful rebellion Gustavus had made the acquaintance of two brothers, Olaf and Lorenz Petersen, who had been students at Wittenberg, and had been driven from their native Sweden for attacking the sale of indulgences. The titular bishoprics were retained when Gustavus and the two Petersens led the way to the Swedish Reformation, and in 1531 one of the brothers became the first Protestant Archbishop of Upsala, and the other was the first pastor of Stockholm. The three Scandinavian kingdoms were thus won for the Reformation in Luther's lifetime, and in their religious life they preserve to this day the essential features of Lutheranism.

To the Low Countries, although the establishment of the Reformation was accomplished later there than in other European lands, belongs the

honour of furnishing the earliest martyrs of the Reformation, in two monks of Luther's own Augustinian order, who were burned at Brussels, in 1523, for preaching Luther's doctrines. The Emperor Charles V., who found it impossible, as we have seen, to enforce the Edict of Worms in Germany, resolved that in his hereditary dominions of Spain and the Netherlands there should be no toleration of heresy. But in spite of his zealous support of the papal authorities, the writings of Luther found their way across the frontier, while missionaries and scholars from Wittenberg, from Switzerland, and from France helped to spread the light among a people already trained by their geographical position to independence of thought and action.

When Charles resigned his crown to his son, Philip II., the latter found himself faced by a civil as well as a religious uprising, which even the Inquisition had failed to keep down. There was a natural alliance between those whose aim was the throwing off of the Spanish yoke from the Netherlands and those who were in revolt against the ecclesiastical system of which Spain was the tool. The Reformers infused into the national movement a new and loftier spirit, and junction with the patriots afforded the Reformers means of withstanding Philip and his regents, and of living through a persecution as relentless as any in history. The chief agent of that persecution was the Duke of Alva, whom the American historian Motley summed up in what is, possibly, the most

scathing character sketch in few words in all historical writing. "As a man," he wrote, "his character was simple. He did not combine a great variety of vices, but those which he had were colossal, and he possessed no virtues." On the side of the Dutch and of Protestantism, the chief figure was William the Silent, Prince of Orange, who was a devout Roman Catholic when he entered upon the struggle for his country's liberation from Spain, but became in the course of that heroic contest a convinced Protestant. In 1579, when the constitution of the United Provinces was drawn up in the Treaty of Utrecht, the right to worship God after their own fashion was incorporated as a fundamental principle, renewed in 1581, when the provinces formally renounced the Spanish sovereignty. William was foully assassinated by a Roman Catholic fanatic in 1584, but he had led his country to freedom, alike from Spanish and from Papist yoke, and Holland now took her place among the Protestant Powers of Europe.

The year 1563 had seen the close of the Council of Trent, which shut the door on the last hopes of those who desired to see the Papal Church reformed from within. The cardinals and doctors reaffirmed the doctrines to which the Protestants were opposed, and the Pope called upon the Emperor and princes to put into force the decrees of the Council. To speed the movement to this end, Jesuits were despatched to every European court at which the Pope was, directly or indirectly, represented,

and during the next few years ground which had been won, or nearly won, for Protestantism in Bohemia, in Poland, and Bavaria, was lost, so far as State approval was concerned. The straits of the Papacy had, indeed, led Paul III. and his astute successor, Pius IV., to see in the new Society of Jesus an ally which might be turned to valuable account. But Popes and princes were soon to learn that Protestantism had fostered a spirit of individual and national independence, which was destined to bring about new groupings of Powers, and train all peoples for broader views of freedom than were compatible with the mediæval ideas of kingship and papacy.

Basing itself upon the right of the individual Christian to interpret for himself the Bible as the unerring standard of faith, Protestantism implies toleration of any and every conscientious exposition of the Divine relations to man. But the Reformers of the sixteenth century had been cradled and trained in a narrower school, and so we ought not to be surprised to find, as we do, Lutherans refusing to recognise Zwinglians, or failing at times to give a whole-hearted support to Calvinists. These regrettable divisions weakened Protestants in face of their common enemy, the Papists, as was seen in the course of the series of campaigns which lives in history as the Thirty Years' War. That other than purely religious motives had potency in the grouping of Powers in this struggle no student of history can deny; but community of faith linked together

nations which would otherwise have been kept apart.

For the protection of their rights within the Empire a number of the Protestant princes of Germany in 1608 banded themselves into the Protestant Union, at the head of which was Frederick IV., the Elector of the Palatinate. And, lest this combination should prove too strong for any one of their number, the Roman Catholic princes quickly instituted in opposition to it the Catholic League, whose chief was Maximilian Duke of Bavaria. The complaint of the Union was that the breaches of toleration which had been inspired by the Jesuits throughout the Empire involved interference with the civic independence of the States.

In no part of the Empire was the new policy of persecuting the Protestants carried to greater excess than in Bohemia, and this at length drove the Bohemians to insurrection and to the choosing of the Protestant Elector Frederick of the Palatinate as King. The first stages of the war which then broke out, in 1619, went in favour of the Emperor, with the result that Protestantism was ruthlessly stamped out both in Bohemia and Moravia. Defeated in Bohemia, the Union carried the war into the territories of the League, but in Denmark and Saxony the Emperor and the League were too strong for the Protestants. So confident was the Emperor Ferdinand that the Union was crushed that he proceeded in 1629 to issue an edict of restitution, ordering throughout the Empire the return to the Roman Catholic Church of all the former

property of the Church, which, since the Peace of Augsburg, seventy-four years previously, had been alienated to the States and princes, and the support of the pastors of the Reformed Church. This action provoked a new combination against Austria and the Emperor; and the policy of Ferdinand, which stirred up Poland against Sweden, brought Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden and grandson of Gustavus Vasa, into Germany as the ally of the Union. His campaign was crowned by a great victory at Lützen in 1632, but his death on the field deprived the Union of the only general who could reconcile the conflicting claims of its constituent elements. For a while the fortune of war once more went against the Protestants until successive Swedish generals, in alliance with France, during the closing years of the war, stemmed the tide, and in 1648 wrung from the Emperor and the League the Peace of Westphalia, which formally and finally established the principle of religious toleration in the States of the Empire, and, incidentally, recognised the independence of Holland and Switzerland. The new force of Protestantism thus won for the States of the old Empire both toleration and an appreciation of individual sovereignty which went far to exalt the States at the expense of the Empire.

The Treaty of Westphalia went even further in the direction of toleration than that principle had been carried before in the Empire, for it sanctioned the toleration of Calvinists as well as of Lutherans. Not in vain was Germany drenched

in blood for thirty long years, seeing that the end of the conflict was the winning of toleration for all Protestants, and not alone for Lutherans. And so broad and deep were laid the foundations of the settlement then effected that, among nations, the balance of power as between Romanist and Protestant in the Continent of Europe stands at the beginning of the twentieth century as it was fixed in the middle of the seventeenth century by the Treaty of Westphalia.

The spirit which prompted the resistance of Protestant Germany to the renewed efforts of Pope and Emperor to bring its States under the yoke of Rome, animated the Waldenses in their heroic stand in the Piedmontese valleys against the persecution of Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, in 1655. Their resistance called forth from Cromwell an appeal to the Protestant nations to join in a protest to the Duke of Savoy and his ally the King of France, and from Milton the deathless sonnet "Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints." The zeal of these primitive Protestants had been quickened by the tidings of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, and they had but recently entered into communion with their fellow Protestants, when the Duke of Savoy gave the order for their extirpation. Space is not available in which to tell the story of the terrible persecution and glorious constancy of these martyr descendants of some of the truest of the Protestants before Protestantism. Cromwell's intervention served to stay the

hand of the persecutor for a while, but it was not until 1694 that a more enlightened policy on the part of the House of Savoy paved the way to complete freedom of worship, and to the preservation of this ancient people to take a part in the final movement for the unification of Italy.

France also felt the effect of the rekindled desire of the Papists in the century after the Reformation to root out Protestantism, and in yielding to it she drove from her borders hundreds of thousands of her best and most industrious citizens, and robbed the country of the cream of that middle class whose presence would probably have mitigated, if it had not prevented, the horrors of the conflict between the aristocracy and the populace which culminated in the Revolution of 1789. So long as Henry IV. lived, the Edict of Nantes was obeyed and the Huguenots were left in peace, but under his son Louis XIII., and his Minister Cardinal Richelieu, the Protestants were again driven to arms, and, despite their heroic resistance, were deprived of La Rochelle and all their other strongholds.

Louis XIV., the grandson of "the Knight of the White Plume," completed the undoing of Henry's work. For years the southern provinces, where the Huguenots were strongest, were harried by bodies of troops, led by monks, who compelled the people to renounce their faith and who put their pastors to death. Many of those who escaped took refuge in Switzerland, in the Protestant States of Germany, and in England, while some were driven

to a temporising conformity with the Church of Rome. The Dragonnades, as they have been called, were succeeded by an even greater infamy; for on October 23rd, 1685, Louis revoked the great Edict of Nantes, and proscription, persecution, and exile became once more the lot of the Huguenots. It has been computed that in twenty years France lost half a million good subjects, and that, despite the long years in which the hunted remnant was harried in the Cévennes, she still unwillingly retained at least two millions of Protestant subjects, to whose descendants full toleration only came with the Revolution.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THREE CENTURIES OF PROTESTANTISM.

Ecclesiastical Policy of James I. and Charles I.—The Westminster Assembly of Divines—The Episcopacy Restored in England, but not in Scotland—James II.'s Attempt to Effect a Popish Revival—The Bill of Rights—Last Words.

WHILE the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of England gave to both countries a Protestant sovereign in common, and removed some dangers which beset the Reformed faith in Britain, it was not to be expected that his realm would altogether escape the efforts of the papal party to win back the ground which had been lost. But the state of Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century was such that none of the Pope's allies on the Continent was in a position to take up arms on his behalf against England, and some too zealous opponents of Protestantism sought to bring about the same results by vile conspiracies, of which the most notorious is the infamous "Gunpowder Plot" of 1605. In such a work as this it is unnecessary to go into the sordid details of these machinations, for they are familiar to every student of English and Scottish history.

Neither James nor his subjects had learned the lesson that liberty and toleration are the direct fruit of Protestantism. Insistence on a narrow

conformity drove the Pilgrim Fathers first to Holland, and later to seek a new home, and set up a freer and more tolerant State, across the Atlantic. The penal laws, which pressed so heavily upon the Puritan Nonconformists, fell with even greater weight upon those who conscientiously adhered to the Church which the nation had left. The statecraft that drives one section of conscientious subjects into exile and another into privy conspiracy stands self-condemned, but this is no unfair summary of the effects of James's ecclesiastical policy. He came to England a member of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, but he brought with him an exaggerated sense of the royal supremacy, which his English surroundings fed and fostered, with the result that he endeavoured to bring about harmony between the English and Scottish systems by the revival in the northern kingdom of an order of bishops out of keeping with Knox's great ideal. This step was bitterly resented in Scotland, and played no unimportant part in educating the Scots in those sentiments of civil liberty which led them, in the reign of James's unfortunate son, to throw in their lot with the English Puritans.

Charles I. came to the throne even more deeply imbued than his father with the idea of his own Divine right to govern, both in Church and State; and it would be easy, were it not already writ large on every page of the civil history of the period, to trace the effect of his arbitrary policy on the two nations, in whom the Reformation had implanted a growing sense of national and individual

independence. In England as well as in Scotland, Calvinism was supreme among the Protestants, and of Calvinism Charles and Archbishop Laud, the chief agent of his ecclesiastical policy, were bitter opponents. Strafford's rigid policy of absolutism in civil affairs was matched by Laud's treatment of those who differed from his interpretation of the Book of Common Prayer; with the result that the Puritans who had been trained in Calvinist schools were alienated from the Church of England, and were driven to make common cause with those who rebelled against the Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, and Ship Money. The end, so far as England was concerned, is well known. Laud was impeached by the Long Parliament, and it is interesting to recall that one of the charges against him was that of "endeavouring to overthrow the Protestant religion." Although he was adjudged guilty and was beheaded, it must be remembered that this particular charge was to some extent disproved by the fact that the Archbishop twice declined the offer of a cardinal's hat, though the offer would hardly have been made if the Pope had not believed that, consciously or unconsciously, Laud was doing him service.

In Scotland Laud's policy of forcing prelacy on the Church and the wearing of surplices on the ministers was fiercely resented by the Presbyterian people. The sons of the men who had learned of Knox would not tamely submit to seeing his simple form of worship set aside in favour of that decreed by Laud's Service Book, and the first attempt

to use the latter in St. Giles's, Edinburgh, on July 23rd, 1637, was the signal for a riot. An appeal to the King for the withdrawal of the obnoxious liturgy was answered by a proclamation branding with treason all who opposed it. In face of this crisis, nothing short of national action would have sufficed, and representatives of the barons, of the burghs, and of the Church were at once summoned to meet in Edinburgh. Unanimously the delegates decided to renew the National Covenant, and all classes of the community hastened to subscribe to this declaration of fidelity to the Protestant cause, to the King and to each other. This was on March 1st, 1638; and before the end of the same year the General Assembly of the Scottish Church had deposed the bishops in defiance of the King. Even before he took up arms against the Puritans in England, Charles endeavoured by war to force his unpopular ecclesiastical system on the Scots, but was compelled by defeat in 1640 to grant their demands for a free Parliament in civil matters and a free Assembly to rule the Church.

How far dissatisfaction in England with the ecclesiastical policy of Charles and Laud conduced to the Civil War is a point for the general historian; but it is worthy of note that the Long Parliament, with small regard for the ministers who loyally and conscientiously stood by the episcopal system, decreed the abolition of prelacy in England, and united with the Scots in the Solemn League and Covenant when Parliament asked the aid of their

northern brethren. This treaty bound all who subscribed to its terms to uphold the religious and civil liberties of both countries, to secure the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, and to labour for a uniformity of religion in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government. The Solemn League and Covenant was sworn to by members of both Houses of Parliament in London on September 25th, 1643, and also by the members of the Assembly of Divines, which had met three months earlier at Westminster for the purpose of "the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrines of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations."

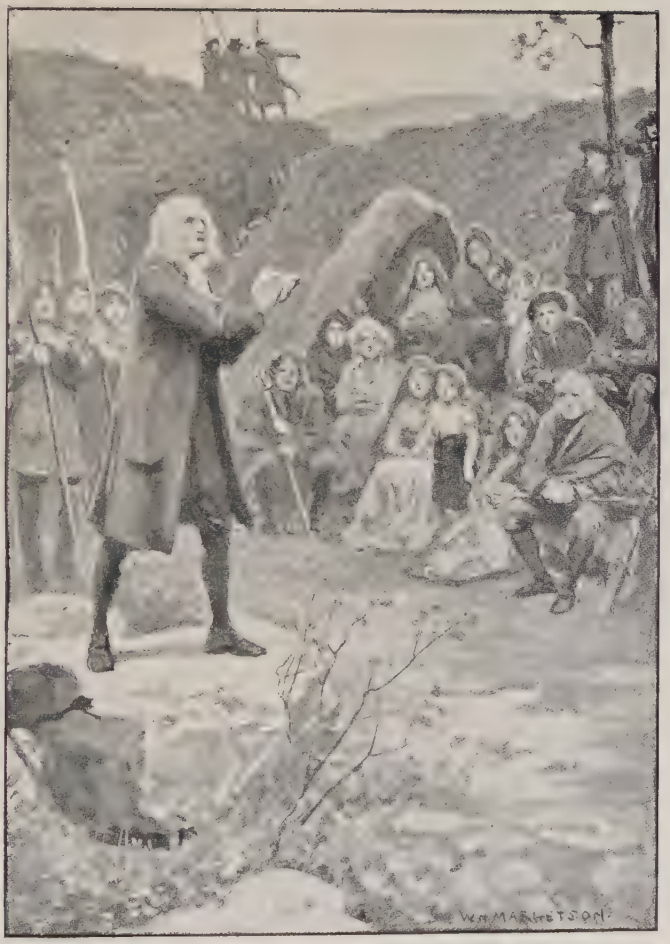
It was only for a few years that England accepted the Westminster Confession and the "Standards" of the Westminster Assembly, although they were drawn up in 1647 on English soil and by a body which the English Parliament called into being. Scotsmen formed only a small minority of the Assembly, but Scotland adopted the "Westminster Standards" and their "Larger" and "Shorter" Catechisms, as well as the "Directory for the Public Worship of God," in place of Knox's "Confession" of 1560, which had hitherto been the charter of the Reformation in Scotland; and to this day the Westminster Confession crystallises the theology of the great majority of Scottish Presbyterians.

With the Restoration came the re-establishment

of episcopacy in the Church of England, and the Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, bade all ministers to use the Book of Common Prayer, and to deny the binding force of the Solemn League and Covenant. Two thousand ministers were deprived of their preferments by the operation of this Act, and a new struggle began for the toleration of Protestant by Protestant. There have been incidents in that struggle which cannot be recalled with pleasure either by Conformists or by Nonconformists; but as all parties have been agreed on the essential principles of Protestantism, and in opposition to the doctrines and pretensions of the Papacy, it would serve no good purpose to recite them here.

North as well as south of the Tweed, Charles II. endeavoured to re-establish episcopacy, which in Scotland had not the general sanction which it had in England. Those who stood by the Covenant and the Presbyterian order saw with alarm the royal supremacy proclaimed in matters ecclesiastical, and the Solemn League condemned as an unlawful and a treasonable compact. The aged Marquess of Argyll, and James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, were hurried, the one to the block, the other to the gallows; and Guthrie, with the rope round his neck, prophesied the issue of the struggle which was now beginning. "The Covenants!" he cried; "the Covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving!"

Four hundred parish ministers who refused to acknowledge royal supremacy and the newly set



COVENANTERS WORSHIPPING IN A GLEN.

up bishops were ejected from their charges. They were ordered to cease preaching under pain of death; and no less a penalty awaited those who supported them by attending their conventicles, as their field-preachings were styled. The descendants of the men who, under Knox, had won spiritual freedom for Scotland, scorning the ill-qualified men who were installed as the successors of the "outed" ministers, followed their pastors to peaceful glens and remote moorlands, where they worshipped in the simple form forbidden by the new laws. The ruthless severity of the Government was met by the heroic constancy of the Covenanters. The churches of the "outed" ministers stood empty, but the prisons and the slave-ships were filled with brave men and women whose only offence was their fidelity to the Covenants which had received the assent of the profligate King who, on his death-bed in 1685, avowed himself a Papist.

Charles was succeeded by his brother, James II., who had boldly avowed himself a Roman Catholic sixteen years before, and had been deprived of his offices under the Crown when the Test Act was passed in 1673. Throughout the later years of Charles II. the fear of a popish revival had been present with English and Scottish politicians and religious bodies, and it was to defeat Romish machinations, and exclude Roman Catholics from the service of the State, that the Test Act was passed. When the new King proceeded to set the legislation of the late reign aside, and sent to the Tower seven of the bishops who petitioned the Crown against

a royal proclamation which ordered the reading in church of the King's "Declaration of Indulgence," devised to terminate the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from acknowledged power, the end was brought near. The best men in all parties, English and Scottish, united in an invitation to William of Orange, the husband of James's daughter Mary, to seize at once his wife's heritage. William, who was himself a grandson of Charles I., accepted the invitation in 1688, and James II. was driven into exile.

Other countries, before and since, have varied the succession to the Crown to meet a crisis in national history, but England, in the Revolution of 1688, established a new principle. The Bill of Rights, which in 1689 declared the reign of James II. at an end and appointed William and Mary his successors, did something more than establish the monarchy on a constitutional basis. It decreed that no King or Queen of this land shall be in communion with the Church of Rome or shall marry a Papist, and thus secured for all time Protestant sovereigns for a Protestant land.

The nations which were Protestant at the end of the seventeenth century are Protestant still; and Protestants are numerous now in many a land which in the main is still under the sway of the Church of Rome. Civil and religious liberty, the foster-children of Protestantism, have won their way even where there has been no national profession of Protestantism, and in lands where Roman Catholicism is still the reputed creed of the

majority of the population. The power of the States which were great when the Protest was made has waxed or waned as they have accepted or denied the principles which underlay the Reformation. Island kingdoms and petty duchies that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries laid firm hold on these principles have become the parents of great empires, built up by citizens trained in civil freedom by individual liberty to follow the dictates of their own hearts in the highest of all spheres. Liberty of conscience is the mainspring of all civil liberty, and the strongest and most progressive nations are those which in the opening of the twentieth century give fullest effect to this essential feature of the Great Protest.

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